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THESIS

THE SIX PILLARS OF INFLUENCE: HOW INSURGENT
ORGANIZATIONS MANIPULATE GOVERNMENTS,
POPULATIONS, AND THEIR OPERATIVES

by

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March 2009

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I.   INTRODUCTION

A.   PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The subject of insurgency has been examined and analyzed to a great extent, especially in recent years. David Kilcullen and Gordon McCormick, among others, have published studies on the topic in recent years. The conflicts in both Iraq and Afghanistan have brought the study of insurgencies to the forefront of military research. In this new age of warfare, conventional military force is no longer sufficient to combat swift, dispersed, and covert insurgent organizations. Their ability to hide and operate among the indigenous population has made insurgents hard to combat with conventional forces. Because of the insurgents' reliance on the local population, much effort has been expended in finding out how to undermine that support.

The concepts of information warfare and influence have also been heavily discussed in recent years, yet these ideas are not entirely new to the conduct of warfare. The focus of many studies is the network of insurgency. These studies often focus on the characteristics of the nodes of the insurgent networks. For instance, Dr. McCormick describes the four key elements of an insurgent/counterinsurgent campaign and the interactions between the four elements. His model describes the conditions necessary to gaining influence, but does not address the actual methods used to achieve those conditions (McCormick, 1987). This thesis seeks to address this problem.

Others studies have also attempted to explain the methods used by insurgent organizations to gain internal and external influence. For example, Dr. Kilcullen describes the various factions acting inside of a "Conflict Ecosystem." This model focuses on the interactions of the various actors and the inputs and outputs of the ecosystem as a whole (Kilcullen, 2005). These studies use various frameworks and theories in order to explain the factors that determine the actions taken by insurgents in order to gain internal and external influence. This thesis will explain these same factors but within a model of basic human and social psychology.

This thesis is a comparative case analysis of the use of six basic principles of human persuasion and influence, as outlined by Robert B. Cialdini in his work, *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion*. The principles of influence demonstrated in Cialdini's work are reciprocation, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking, authority, and scarcity. These principles are then applied to six historical insurgent organizations—the Mau Mau, the 26th of July Movement, EOKA, the Bolshevik Party, the National Liberation Forces of South Vietnam, and the Provisional Irish Republican Army. This thesis attempts to explain the factors that determine the types of actions taken by insurgent leadership to influence internal and external audiences.

These six cases were chosen based on several factors. First, the conflict in each case must have had a resolution of some kind. This can either be a victory for either side, or a mutual agreement of peace, with no ongoing conflict. This is due to the fact that this study examines the importance of Cialdini's principles to success in an insurgent campaign. Since the success or failure of enduring insurgencies, such as the Sunni insurgency in Iraq, has yet to be determined, these cannot be included in the study.

The second aspect in these case studies is that they result in a variety of outcomes, from outright political and military victories for the insurgency to failure in both arenas, and places in between the two. This is also important in determining the effects of the principles of influence on the success or failure of the insurgency.

The third factor in choosing the case studies is the diversity of the insurgents' motivations, goals, ethnicities, religions, and socio-economic backgrounds. This diversity provides a multitude of settings in which the principles were applied, and helps determine whether these factors affected the decisions to utilize particular principles.

While various frameworks have been used to analyze the influence of insurgencies, there has not been a thorough study conducted using this particular framework. While the outcome of this study may not be *the* answer to countering the influence of insurgents, it does provide another lens through which counterinsurgent forces can understand the influence strategies of insurgents.

This thesis explains the methods by which insurgents influence internal and external target audiences on the level of basic human psychology. It also analyzes the relative success of these influence tactics (or combination thereof) and recommends the possible application of these conclusions to counterinsurgency efforts. This study is not an extensive quantitative analysis of the use of Cialdini's principles, but will provide a general framework with which to conduct further study.

B.   THESIS ORGANIZATION

This thesis is structured into five chapters. Chapter I introduces the purpose of this research and the organization of the thesis. Chapter II provides a short biography of Robert Cialdini to establish his expertise in the area of influence, summarizes Cialdini's six principles of influence, and provides examples of their use. This will be the framework on which the remaining chapters are based. Chapter III begins with a definition of insurgency. Later, each subsection of the chapter will provide a brief historical background of each case study and describe the utilization of each principle of influence by the insurgencies. Chapter IV analyzes the results of the qualitative data explained in Chapter III. The chapter will first provide a basic summary of the results describing the factors that determine the types of actions taken by insurgent leaders to influence internal and external audiences. Next, it will discuss the relative importance of each principle, followed by a discussion of the combinations of principles used by insurgencies. Finally, the chapter will discuss the various levels at which the principles are applied and provide recommendations for counterinsurgency efforts. Chapter V provides recommendations for further research and concludes the thesis.

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II.   THE SIX PRINCIPLES OF INFLUENCE

A.   OVERVIEW

Doctor Robert B. Cialdini's *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion* is a study of the methods employed by professionals in order to elicit compliance from their target audiences. The purpose of his study was to identify the techniques most commonly and effectively used by compliance practitioners. He states that his interest in the subjects of compliance and persuasion stems from his personal susceptibility to the tactics of persuasion (Cialdini, 2007, p. ix). While these practitioners were the focus of the study, Cialdini also observed that everyone employs and falls victim to these techniques on an everyday basis. His study involved interviews with professionals and consumer agencies, in addition to the examination of literature used to convey these techniques. Participant observation, however, was his most often used method. In essence, this method requires that the observer disguise his intent in order to become a member of the group being studied. This method—a tradition in scholarship with a long pedigree, going back through Leon Festinger's *When Prophecy Fails*—allows the researcher to produce first-hand accounts of the behavior of the test subjects. In this way, Cialdini was able to "infiltrate" various advertising, public relations, and fund-raising agencies in order to learn these compliance methods from those that practice them.

In his study, Cialdini observed that despite the numerous tactics used by compliance professionals, most of these techniques fall into six basic categories. Each of the categories is "governed by a fundamental psychological principle that directs human behavior and, in so doing, gives the tactics their power" (Cialdini, 2007). The principles—reciprocation, commitment and consistency, social proof, authority, liking, and scarcity—are each discussed at length in *Influence*. His study is not meant to be prescriptive in nature, but is meant to inform his audience of these methods in order to recognize and possible counteract their use. This chapter will briefly describe each of these principles of influence in addition to providing a short background of Dr. Cialdini and his history with the study of persuasion and influence.

B. BACKGROUND OF ROBERT B. CIALDINI

Dr. Cialdini's interest in social psychology began in 1963 at the University of Wisconsin, where he earned a Bachelor's of Science in Psychology in 1967. He continued his education in social psychology, receiving a PhD in social psychology from the University of North Carolina and conducting his post-doctoral training at Columbia University. He has held Visiting Scholar Appointments at Ohio State University, the University of California, the Annenberg School of Communications, and the Graduate School of Business of Stanford University. He is currently Distinguished Professor of Marketing and Regents' Professor of Psychology at Arizona State University, and has been named a Distinguished Graduate Research Professor.

Cialdini is considered an international expert in the areas of compliance and persuasion based on his scholarly background and his extensive research on the subject. His work has been covered in numerous business, psychology, and network media outlets. He has worked closely with the Special Operations Command over the years. He is also the president of an international consulting, training, and planning firm based on his six principles of influence called Influence at Work, which has numerous business clients including IBM, Coca Cola, and Harvard University.

C. CIALDINI'S PRINCIPLES OF INFLUENCE

1. Reciprocation

Cialdini states, "The rule [of reciprocation] says that we should try to repay, in kind, what another person has provided us" (2007, p. 17). That is, if a person is given a gift, invited to a party, or given a favor, the receiver is obligated to future repayment of those gifts, favors, and invitations. He considers reciprocation one of the most potent of the six principles of influence, and even goes so far as to say that this rule is universal to all human societies—a statement based on extensive study by sociologists. Furthermore, those that do not adhere to the strict code of reciprocation are negatively viewed by society.

Noted archaeologists and cultural anthropologists, such as Richard Leakey, Lionel Tiger, and Robin Fox, consider the human system of reciprocity vital to the development of modern human civilization (Cialdini, 2007, p. 18). This system allowed early cultures to trade and share items and services with the understanding that they would receive future compensation. This eventually developed into complex modern systems of trade and currency fundamentally based on the idea that something given would be return in kind. Thus, it is not surprising that reciprocation is deeply embedded in the human psyche. To illustrate this point, Cialdini uses the example of relief aid given to Mexico by poverty-stricken Ethiopia. In this example, Ethiopia provided five thousand dollars in aid money to Mexico due to a 1985 earthquake. Although Ethiopia did not have enough money to provide even basic needs to its people, the government felt obligated to give aid to Mexico based on assistance given by Mexico in 1935. This particular example is indicative of the power of reciprocation because the government of Ethiopia placed the need to follow this principle over its own self-interest. It also demonstrates the principle's application to organizations and governments (Cialdini, 2007, p. 19).

Cialdini frequently references a study by Professor Dennis Regan in order to emphasize the overpowering nature of the rule of reciprocity. This study found that while liking the requester impacts the decision to comply with the request, the relationship between liking and compliance is not a factor when reciprocation is involved. Dr. Regan found that when a subject is given a favor by the requester, the relative likability of the requester had no impact on the subject's compliance with the request. This illustrates that the rule of reciprocity is so strong that it can overpower a factor that normally elicits compliance (Cialdini, 2007). This conclusion is pivotal to the understanding of the power of reciprocation in that the target of compliance can be made to perform an action that he would not normally do by providing a small favor, despite an aversion towards the requester.

Cialdini presents several examples of the application of reciprocation in the realm of politics. He demonstrates that reciprocation is a common method of gaining compliance on groups and individuals. He specifically cites Lyndon Johnson's ability to push his programs through Congress during the early years of his administration. Close

examination has shown that this was not due to his political savvy, but to the favors he had given as a representative in both the House and the Senate, a practice called "logrolling." He was able to call in favors that he had provided prior to his ascension to the presidency. Another example of the principle in the political realm is that of grass-roots political campaigns. Local political organizations have learned to provide a wide range of small favors to gain compliance (Cialdini, 2007, pp. 24-27).

Another aspect of the rule is that it can create uninvited debts. This means that even uninvited favors—even extremely small or useless favors—can trigger the reciprocation response in an individual. In this way, the obligation to repay a favor inhibits the ability to choose one's debts towards an individual or group. The Regan study illustrates this point by demonstrating that uninvited favors place all of the free choice in the hands of the requester. This is due to the fact that a) the target will not refuse the uninvited favor and b) the uninvited favor produces a sense of indebtedness despite the target's reluctance to initially receive the favor. The same study also found that the rule can also produce unfair exchanges. That is, the requester may ask for a favor from the target that is disproportionate to the initial favor, and the target will be inclined to repay the perceived debt (Cialdini, 2007, pp. 30-33).

Cialdini also demonstrates another aspect to the rule of reciprocation: reciprocal concessions. This aspect of the rule adds that there is an "obligation to make a concession to someone who has made a concession to us" (Cialdini, 2007, p. 37). In other words, the requester can gain a favor from the target by conceding to a smaller request than the one initially made. He further states that mutual concession is produced by reciprocation in two ways. First, the rule pressures the recipient of a concession to respond with one of his own. Second, reciprocating a concession creates desirable arrangements by ensuring that the initiator of the arrangement will not be exploited. Otherwise, members of a society would never be inclined to concede to anything, since they would not have a reasonable expectation of reciprocation. This rule can even produce compliance with large requests, given that the initial request was extreme.

2. Commitment and Consistency

The principles of commitment and consistency are treated as one concept in *Influence* because the two concepts are interrelated. The principle is that humans desire to be consistent with past choices, and, given those choices, will encounter both external and personal pressures to act in accordance with that commitment. These pressures can justify a previous decision that one would not have normally made—a decision that could even be against one's own self interest. Cialdini goes on to say that the need for consistency is often a response to the desire to believe the person seeking compliance and that it can shield against thinking about the decision. This fact can be exploited by those that would prefer to limit thought in their request for compliance. The human tendency toward consistency is a powerful tool to those that would choose to exploit it.

The need for consistency is fueled by the aspect of commitment. If the exploiter can receive an initial commitment from the target, the rule of consistency activates, and the target is inclined to adhere to the initial commitment. Even a seemingly innocent request for a response can register as a commitment in the target's mind. Cialdini demonstrates this response by explaining a technique used by charity telemarketers. The solicitor begins the pitch with a benign inquiry as to the person's well-being. This simple question is designed to produce a simple response such as, "Just fine" or "Good." Once the target has stated that he is well, it is easier to induce the target to come to the aid of those who are not "Just fine." While this type of answer seems to be a normal response to a superficial query about one's welfare, it is in fact an attempt to get the target to commit to his relative good fortune (Cialdini, 2007, p. 67-69).

This principle of commitment and consistency can even override one's desire to do what is right. A striking example of this is the prisoner-of-war program run by the Chinese during the Korean War. Instead of torture or brutality to produce responses to their questions, the Chinese employed the weapons of commitment and consistency to get results. Their tactic was to begin with requesting small concessions from American POWs in order to establish a commitment and gradually increase the demands. By starting with requesting statements such as "The United States in not perfect," the Chinese garnered more substantial statements from POWs as time progressed.

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Eventually, POWs found themselves signing written statements listing the problems with America, which were subsequently broadcast by the Chinese. American POWs essentially became collaborators with the enemy without even realizing it due to the principles of commitment and consistency.

This principle becomes even more powerful when the commitment is both written and publicized. In the POW example, the Chinese would hold political essay contests with small prizes such as food items or cigarettes. The winning essays were often pro-American as a whole, but with small concessions to Communism. Thus, the Chinese were able produce small, voluntary concessions in written form from American POWs, which would provide the needed foundation for stronger statements in the future. Additionally, the Chinese would publicize the winning essays in order to make the commitment visible to others in the camp. This action provoked a drive to sustain the commitment of the POW in order to maintain the appearance of consistency.

While commitments seem to be most effective in altering behavior when they require action, publicity, and effort, it is target's perception that the commitment was his choice that is more important than the other reasons. Cialdini states that social scientists have determined that one accepts responsibility for certain behavior when he thinks the choice was his without strong outside pressures. This explains why the Chinese would offer small prizes such as cigarettes to the winners of essay contests: they wanted to prevent any excuses from the POWs for their ultimate actions of compliance.

Cialdini applies the principle to the group dynamic by citing the initiation rituals of the Thonga tribe in southern Africa. The youths of this tribe are made to endure elaborate and painful initiation rituals in order to be accepted into the tribe as men. This example illustrates the fact that the more effort that is given in making a commitment, the more likely one who makes the commitment is susceptible to influence (Cialdini, 2007).

The principle of commitment and consistency is extremely attractive to those seeking compliance due to the minimal effort required to alter behavior. Commitments induce a change that is not necessarily specific to initial situation and the effects are

enduring. Additionally, once the seed of commitment is planted in the individual, there is no need to exert an effort to maintain that commitment—the rule of consistency takes over.

3. Social Proof

Social proof is the tendency to determine correct behavior by observing what is considered correct by other people. A particular action is perceived as more appropriate when others are also behaving in the same manner. This aspect of social proof is a double-edged sword. While it provides a guideline for acceptable social behavior, it also presents a vulnerably by which one seeking compliance can gain an advantage. The nature of social proof renders a reflexive response that is easily fooled by false evidence.

The power of social proof is such that adherence to a certain behavior or belief can endure, even in the face of overwhelming evidence contrary to that belief. A poignant example of this characteristic is provided in *When Prophecy Fails*—the study of a doomsday cult conducted by Leon Festinger, Henry Riecken, and Stanley Schachter. In this study, the authors observed that the cult's followers maintained their faith even after the doomsday prophecy was undeniably refuted. The cult members were actually more fervent in their beliefs than before the blatant evidence against those beliefs. The researchers used the study to formulate conditions under which such a disaffirmation of belief can actually induce increased adherence to those beliefs. One of these conditions is social support. The authors state that if a believer is a member of a group who can support each other in these erroneous beliefs, then the members of the group are likely to adhere to these beliefs despite contrary evidence (Festinger, Riecken, & Schachter, 1956).

The above example illustrates that the principle of social proof is enhanced by uncertainty and ambiguity. In such situations, there is a tendency to follow the lead of others. This tendency leads to a concept vital to the understanding of social proof: "pluralistic ignorance." Pluralistic ignorance explains the phenomenon of the refusal of any one person in a group of bystanders to come to aid of someone in need. Cialdini states that the reason for this is twofold. The first reason is that in the presence of several

potential helpers, the responsibility of any one person is reduced. Since everyone in the group comes to the same conclusion, no one in particular provides the needed help. The second reason is that the emergency is often not an emergency, and responding to such a situation may be more than is required. This ambiguity is then reinforced by the inaction of other bystanders (Cialdini, 2007, pp. 129-133).

Uncertainty can also be an advantage to those seeking compliance in a particular situation or environment. The person who recognizes the nature of social proof can provide direction to his benefit in the face of ambiguity. When an uncertain situation occurs, the one who can provide direction can elicit a response in one seeking certainty. Once this is accomplished, the principle of social proof reestablishes itself, but to the advantage of the one providing direction.

Other than uncertainty, the other condition under which social proof is particularly powerful is similarity. Social proof gains additional power when the group exhibiting a particular behavior is similar to those looking to the group for direction. Cialdini illustrates this behavior with a study conducted by David Phillips, a sociologist at the University of California in San Diego. Phillips examined suicide statistics over the course of twenty-one years, and found that within two months after front-page suicide story, an average of fifty-eight more people killed themselves than usual. Phillips also found that this statistical tendency occurred primarily in the regions of the country where the story was publicized. In essence, the act of one person committing suicide in a particular region resulted in an average of fifty-eight additional "copycat" suicides. One person committing such an act has the effect of validating such behavior in other people with a particular characteristic.

4.   Liking

Liking is the principle that one is more inclined to comply with a request when they like the one seeking compliance. This principle applies not only to those who are familiar, but also to complete strangers. Companies such as Tupperware use the liking principle to sell their products by creating situations where the target buys items in the home of a friend. This creates a feeling of obligation to the host of the party who

receives a portion of the profits of each sale. The target then equates turning down the offer to buy the product to turning down the friend. This aspect of the principle also applies to referral offers. The company soliciting business from the target can merely use the name of the friend who referred the product, and the same obligatory situation is created. The real power of the principle, however, is demonstrated in situations wherein there is no established relationship prior to the sales pitch.

Cialdini states that a compliance professional's strategy often starts with one goal: to get the target to like them. He goes on to say that the key to understanding the principle is to understand the factors that lead to liking a person. Research accumulated by social scientists has identified five aspects which reliably lead to liking: physical attractiveness, similarity, compliments, contact and cooperation, and conditioning and association (Cialdini, 2007, pp. 171-204).

Cialdini states that the general knowledge that attractive people have an advantage in social situations is greatly underestimated. Research has shown that attractive people are automatically assigned positive traits, and that these judgments are made without being aware that attractiveness plays a role in assigning these traits. This phenomenon has been demonstrated in electing political candidates and hiring job applicants. Good-looking people received more favorable outcomes, and the voters and interviewers denied such a bias. This goes even further in the justice system where statistics show that attractive defendants received lighter sentences in criminal trials. Even children who act out are viewed as less "naughty" if the child is attractive. In general, good-looking people are better liked, more persuasive, more frequently helped, and seen as having better personality traits than those who are not attractive (Cialdini, 2007, p. 172).

Similarity is another aspect that leads to liking a person. People generally like those who are similar to them, whether in personality, opinions, lifestyle, or background, and those seeking compliance utilize many methods in order to appear similar to the target. For example, if the requester is dressed in a similar fashion as the target, they are more likely to get a favorable response. This has been demonstrated in studies involving simple requests from strangers and getting signatures for a petition. Another method is to

claim to have a similar background as the target in order to manipulate compliance. Car salesmen are trained to look for items in the buyer's trade-in for items that can be used to fabricate similarity (i.e., golf clubs, camping gear, or an out-of-state license plate). The salesman can then make casual remarks that indicate interest in those hobbies or places. Salespeople are even trained in "mirror and match" where they mimic the customer's body language and verbal style to illicit a sense of similarity (Cialdini, 2007, pp. 173-174).

A simple compliment is effective because it invokes a sense that the target is liked. This flattery can even be completely false and still produce the desired response. A study done in North Carolina involved men receiving comments about themselves from a person needing a favor. These comments were good, bad, or a mixture of the two. The study demonstrated that: 1) the person who only provided praise was liked best by the subjects; 2) this was true even though the subjects were fully aware that the evaluators were in need of a favor; and 3) the praise did not have to be true in order to get a positive response (Cialdini, 2007, p. 176).

Another aspect of the liking principle is that of contact. This is demonstrated in a study in which subjects were exposed to rapid images of different faces, and where some of the faces were shown more than others. The subjects then met the people associated with those images in person, and were more inclined to the like the ones whose face was shown more often and more readily agreed to their opinions. It would seem that having more frequent contact would increase the chances of liking a person, but the contact must occur in a favorable or pleasant setting.

In order to demonstrate this, Cialdini uses the example of school integration. While the purpose of integration was to improve race relations by exposing children of different races to each other, it actually degraded relations between races because of the setting. The competitive and frustrating nature of the school setting resulted in associating contact with different races with an unpleasant setting, and degraded, rather than improved, race relations. The solution to this problem lies in cooperation. By creating situations where the children had to work together toward a common goal, interracial relations were improved. This aspect of liking is used to produce a sense of

alliance between the target and the one seeking compliance. Cialdini equates this tactic with the "Good Cop/Bad Cop" routine in which one of the interrogators acts as an "ally" with the suspect against the other, more aggressive interrogator. The same principle applies to the salesman who is offering a good deal that his boss would not condone, fostering a sense of "us against them."

Those seeking compliance attempt to influence the target's decision making by associating the product (or themselves) with positive ideas and images. This is demonstrated in advertising by invoking the "official sponsor" moniker so often used in conjunction with sporting events such as the Olympics. People then associate the product with something they like, which makes them more inclined to purchase that product. The logic of the association is irrelevant—it only has to be a positive one. Politicians employ this principle by associating themselves with likable personalities and celebrities, as well as positive ideas such as family and values. Thus, they are able to gain likability through their association with other likable things.

Cialdini illustrates the power of association with the phenomenon of home team loyalty. The association is so strong that people often define themselves (at least partially) by the success or failure of their team. Team success leads to a feeling of personal superiority, even though the fan did not directly participate in the event. People then manipulate the visibility of this association according to the team's success or failure in order to increase their likability (Cialdini, 2007).

5.   Authority

Cialdini begins his discussion of the principle of authority by discussing the classic study conducted by Professor Stanley Milgram. The study involved placing the subjects in the position to deliver painful electric shocks to another person based on their ability to answer a set of questions. While the shocks were not real, the "victim" made increasingly loud screams and pleas as the voltage increased. The experiment found that a full two-thirds of the subjects continued to deliver the painful shocks until the

experimenter ended the study. Despite the victims' pleas for release, they continued to shock the victim until told to stop. These disturbing results show the powerful effect of an authority figure on compliance.

The Milgram study demonstrated that without the researcher's direction to continue to shock the victim, the study would have ended sooner. The subjects clearly agonized over the pain they gave to the victim in the experiment, but continued to do so despite their own pleas to stop. Several versions of the study were conducted after the initial findings, and the power of authority was confirmed in every instance. Thomas Blass' perspective on the Milgram experiment, *Obedience to Authority*, expands upon the study and applies it to a socio-political arena. He describes the power of authority in Nazi Germany's conduct of the Holocaust. The principle of authority influenced many members of the Germany military to commit atrocities that they never would have done without authoritative direction. This, in fact, was major motivation for Milgram to conduct a study of authority (Blass, 2000, p. 4).

Cialdini explains that the principle of authority is advantageous to a well-ordered human society—allowing for social order, defense, and trade that would be otherwise ineffective. Submission to authority is ingrained on the human psyche from early childhood. From parents, teachers, and religious figures, people are taught to obey rightful authority. Unfortunately, this often results in blind obedience to authority figures as a matter of convenience. While this obedience is generally rewarding to the individual, in rare cases, it can be detrimental.

Not only can real authority illicit an automatic compliance to a request, but also the mere *appearance* of authority. Obedience to appearance alone leaves people open to manipulation by those seeking to exploit it (such as con artists). Cialdini presents three distinct "symbols" that are used to gain compliance by conveying authority: titles, clothes, and trappings.

A title, whether false or genuine, has the effect of producing compliance in individuals without regard to the person behind that title. The knowledge that the person has a title to his name can instantly change the nature and manner of a conversation,

making the target more susceptible to requests. Clothing is also used to convey authority. Whether it is a uniform or a well-tailored business suit, clothing can easily be used to gain compliance through authority. This is also one of the simplest methods used by con men to convey authority. Trappings are the material goods that suggest status and position. Items such as expensive cars and jewelry can produce deference to the person possessing these items, without any knowledge of the individual.

6.   Scarcity

The principle of scarcity states that if something is rare or becoming rare, then it is more valuable. Cialdini offers as evidence that the idea of potential loss is important in human decision making. "People seem to be more motivated by the thought of losing something than by the thought of gaining something of equal value" (Cialdini, 2007, p. 238). He presents the example of Mormon temples opening their doors to the general public for several days a year. This event creates interest in the religion by employing scarcity to make the idea of a tour of a Mormon temple more valuable.

This tactic is heavily used by the retail industry which uses limited-time sales and "limited inventory" to generate interest in the product or store. Whether the information is actually true is irrelevant; if the consumer sees the item or lower price as scarce, then the value of the item increases in the consumer's mind. Some high-pressure salesmen even use the "right now" tactic, which forces the consumer to make a decision or risk losing a low price or the item's availability. The basis of this information may be false, but it forces a decision and makes the item seem scarce.

Cialdini asserts that the power of the scarcity comes from two major sources: 1) it relies on the human weakness for shortcuts, and 2) peoples' desire to preserve their freedoms, and the loss of an opportunity equates to the loss of a freedom. A simple example of the second source is the rebellious teenager. In this case, because the parent forbids a particular act or object, the teenager will see it as more valuable and will likely defy the parent. This even includes romantic relationships. People are generally unaware that the scarcity principle is cause for the desire for the item or person, and to justify the desire of that item, they assign positive qualities to it.

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An important aspect of scarcity is that it extends beyond material goods to the realm of ideas and information. Not only do humans desire censored information more, but they are even more inclined to believe the information. This phenomenon can be easily exploited by someone seeking compliance by getting his message officially censored in order to increase its perceived value. The desire to possess censored or banned information (and to assign a higher value to the information itself) extends into the court system as well. A piece of evidence that the jury has been instructed to disregard in their decision process will actually appear more valuable (and correct), which is in contradiction to the purpose of striking a piece of evidence from a trial.

Another aspect of scarcity is the idea of "newly experienced" scarcity. This is the idea that something that becomes scarce after a period of abundance is actually more valuable that something that is always scarce. Cialdini states that this part of the principle is a major cause of political violence. James C. Davies argues that revolution is more likely in times of economic and social turmoil immediately following a period of relative improvements. This is consistent with Karl Marx's notion of the "crisis of rising expectations." His examples include the French, Russian, and Egyptian Revolutions and the American Civil War. Once particular freedoms are established by a government, it is more detrimental to take those away than to have never offered the freedoms at all.

The final aspect of the scarcity principle is that of demand, which highlights the importance of competition. An item is essentially more valuable if there is competition for its limited numbers. This is the source of such retail tactics as "popular demand" or post-Thanksgiving Day sales. It is often used in the real estate business wherein an indecisive buyer is informed of another "interested party." While this party is completely fictional, the idea of a potential rival increases the value of the house in the buyer's eyes. The buyer will often come to regret the decision, but competition for a scarce resource was the driving factor in the decision making process.

III. HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF INSURGENCIES

A. DEFINING INSURGENCY

The problem with defining the term "insurgency" is that there is no universally agreed upon definition in the political, academy, or military communities. The various definitions often focus on either the political or military aspects depending on the needs or biases of the organization or individual. While defining insurgency is not the purpose of this thesis, a working definition is needed in order to provide a validation of the studied cases.

The DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms (JP 1-02) defines insurgency as "an organized movement aimed at the overthrown of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict" (2004). This definition naturally focuses on the military aspect of insurgencies, but does not mention the political aspects of insurgency. On the other hand, in his book *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*, Bard O'Neill defines insurgency as:

> A struggle between a non-ruling group and the ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources (e.g., organizational expertise, propaganda, and demonstrations) and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics. (as cited in Kendall, 2008, p. 9)

This particular definition emphasizes the political nature of insurgency, and only references violence as opposed to any formal military structure or campaign. While both of these definitions capture certain aspects of insurgency, neither fully capture its nature or underlying causes.

In her thesis, *A Unified General Framework of Insurgency Using a Living Systems Approach*, Shanece L. Kendall seeks to provide a clear and precise definition of insurgency. She argues that the most complete definition is offered by R. Scott Moore in his work, *The Basics of Counterinsurgency*, where he states:

An insurgency is a protracted violent conflict in which one or more groups seek to overthrow or fundamentally change the political or social order in a state or region through the use of sustained violence, subversion, social disruption, and political action. (as cited in Kendall, 2008, p. 15)

Kendall argues that this definition captures the violent, political, and social aspects of insurgency (2008, p. 15). Due to its complete nature, Moore's definition will be used to describe insurgencies in this study.

B.   THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION: THE BOLSHEVIKS RISE TO POWER

1.   Background

The Bolsheviks were a faction of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) that split with the Mensheviks in 1903 and eventually formed the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, incited the October Revolution phase of the Russian Revolution of 1917, resulting in the party seizing power and forming the Soviet Union. Although the Bolsheviks' hold on power was not fully established until the end of the Russian Civil War in 1923, their actions signaled the arrival of Communism as a major form of government.

The division of the RSDLP occurred due to a fundamental disagreement among members of the party. Those who supported Lenin (the Bolsheviks) believed in a more centralized organization in which the general members of the party were subordinate to the central leadership. On the other side, those who supported Julius Martov (the Mensheviks) believed that a loose organizational structure was necessary. Over the next two years, Lenin would consolidate his power and influence, and the Bolshevik organization was in place. This organization consisted of professional revolutionaries with personal loyalty to Lenin, who believed that they represented the interests of the proletariat (Pipes, 1990).

The Bolsheviks did not exert much influence during the 1905 Russian Revolution, which caught party leaders by surprise. During this revolution, the party generally limited themselves to proclamations and inciting unrest, but it had little control over the events of the revolution. During this time, Lenin remained outside of the country, and directed party operations from Switzerland. Although the Bolsheviks were largely absent

from the actions of the revolution, it marked the beginning of Bolshevik terrorist attacks and assassinations. The revolution ended in 1907, when the Tsar agreed to allow certain civil liberties, the formation of the Duma, and the legalization of some political parties (Pipes, 1990).

Following the 1905 revolution, various splits occurred within the Bolshevik organization, which led to an attempt at party unity in 1910. The attempt was a failure, and the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks cut off all relations by 1912, when the Bolsheviks officially declared themselves a separate party. Meanwhile, Lenin was in exile, travelling Europe and participating in socialist meetings and events.

Russia's defeat in World War I ultimately sealed the fate of tsarist regime. As the war progressed, discontent within the ranks of the army became difficult to control. Additionally, with food and resources being used to support the war effort, shortages began to occur in the cities of Russia, which led to severe inflation. This severe economic crisis caused revolutionary thinking to occur even in the upper class of Russia. The crisis, along with a harsh winter and general discontent with the regime, eventually led to the February Revolution of 1917 (Pipes, 1990).

The February Revolution was, by all accounts, a spontaneous popular uprising. The revolution was centered in the city of Petrograd, where workers began striking and protesting. These protests led to general protests demanding food and the eventual shutdown of Petrograd's industrial enterprises. The protests quickly spread to the white collar workers and academics, and numerous clashes with police occurred. The tsar sent the military to deal with the violence, but many of the soldiers deserted and joined the protests. With the addition of armed soldiers, the sporadic violence escalated to an armed revolt, and by March 22, the royal family was deposed and a Provisional Government was in place (Pipes, 1990).

The Provisional Government was initially greeted with enthusiasm and excitement. Within two months, however, discontent soon surfaced between the new government and the socialist factions in Russia, including the Bolsheviks. The anemic economy and the Provisional Government's decision to continue Russian involvement in

World War I eventually led to rioting in July 1917. This brief period of violence, known as the July Days, was led by the Bolsheviks. The riots were suppressed after several days of violence, and the Provisional Government called for the arrest of Bolshevik leaders, who were forced to go into hiding (Pipes, 1990).

In early October 1917, the Bolshevik Central Committee concluded that the time was ripe for an armed uprising to overthrow the weak Provisional Government. The coup was relatively quick, and little blood was shed. The Bolsheviks quickly seized the major government facilities with little opposition, and conducted an assault on the Winter Palace on the night of 25 October. The well-timed coup resulted in Bolshevik control of the capital city of Petrograd within three days of insurrection, and state power was handed over to the Congress of Soviets (Pipes, 1990).

Following the October Revolution, the Congress of Soviets—mostly comprised of Bolsheviks and other Socialist Revolutionaries—quickly instituted their socialist agenda, seizing control of all banks, factories, and religious properties. The Soviets did not enjoy immediate acceptance as the rightful ruling government in Russia. Many factions began to gather on the periphery to oppose the Bolsheviks. Former tsarist generals rallied the anti-Bolshevik soldiers to form the White Armies (DeFronzo, 1991, p.44). These White Armies provided the strongest resistance to the Bolshevik Red Army.

The White Armies enjoyed support from both internal and external anti-Bolshevik entities, including the United States and Great Britain. The Red Army, however, had many more resources at its disposal, and it grew to a formidable force. The White Armies were also a disorganized force, with their various factions operating autonomously. Additionally, the Whites never enjoyed popular support from the working or peasant classes of Russia, due to their opposition to Bolshevik policies that benefitted the lower classes. The lack of central organization and popular support led to the complete defeat of the White Armies by 1923 (DeFronzo, 1991, p. 45).

Following the death of Lenin in 1924, various Bolshevik leaders struggled for control of the revolution. Trotsky and Stalin were the primary contenders, and they agreed on many important points. They disagreed, however, on leadership and policy

direction within the Communist Party, as well as the role that the party would take in fomenting socialist revolutions outside of Russia. Eventually, the supporters of Stalin won, Trotsky was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929, and Stalin assumed dictatorial control of the country.

2. The Role of Reciprocation

As with the Cuban revolution, the leaders of Bolsheviks utilized the principle of reciprocation in the form of promises made to the workers and peasants of Russia. This was important for the party in order to gain support from the peasant population, who generally supported the Social Revolutionaries. Although the party received a great deal of support from the working class, it was more difficult for the Bolsheviks to gain a foothold in the rural peasant community. In order to remedy this situation, they promised the peasantry a share of lands owned by the rich and the Church. Lenin felt that by offering land as incentive, the peasants would overwhelmingly support the Bolshevik coup (DeFronzo, 1991). This theory was validated during the Russian Civil War in which the peasants overwhelmingly supported the Red Army.

Richard Pipes, in his book *The Russian Revolution*, describes Lenin's use of the principle of reciprocation. He states that Lenin specifically sought ways to identify and exploit sources of discontent to promote revolution. Lenin realized that the disregard other revolutionary groups had for the peasantry was a flawed view. He identified the peasantry as a vital source of support for any revolution, and proposed the idea of ceding all lands in the rural areas to the peasants. This idea was instrumental in gaining support for the Bolsheviks over other groups following the October Revolution (Pipes, 1990).

3. The Role of Authority

Authority was a powerful factor in the Bolsheviks' gaining influence among the people of Russia. This was especially true within the party's organization. Despite arguments and rifts between members and factions within the party, the general direction of the Bolsheviks remained true to Lenin's vision. Lenin *was* the party. He was its creator and its driving force. The authority that Lenin held over the other members of the party was undeniable, and he used this authority to bend the party members to his will.

Following the Bolsheviks' seizure of power, this authority was especially evident in the events of the Red Terror. Despite the many objections of party members to state-sponsored terrorism, Lenin's insistence for such a policy led to actions that party members would not have otherwise conducted (Pipes, 1990).

The Bolshevik movement was basically held together by one man, Lenin. Pipes states that without Lenin, there was nothing else to hold together the various factions of the party at the time of the October Revolution. The authority of Lenin was so powerful that his successors built a quasi-religious cult around his legend. Lenin's name was often evoked by future party leaders to lend authority to the Bolsheviks, even after the party was firmly in control of the country. The authority of his mystique was often more powerful than that of the man himself (Pipes, 1990).

The Bolsheviks were touted as the party that represented the interests of the common Russian worker, but they still recognized that authority was necessary to get the respect of those workers that they were representing. Lenin believed that an organizational structure with a strong central authority was essential to success of the party. He viewed the party as an "organizational weapon" with a central focus of gaining power (Gleason, Kenez, & Stites, 1985). In keeping with the strong central core of the party, Lenin attracted sympathetic scholars and politicians to the Bolshevik Party. These were respected men with authority attached to their positions in society. He believed that while the party should represent the common man, he did not want the common man to help lead the party.

Following the takeover by the Bolshevik Party, the opposing White Armies also used authority in order to gain influence. According to George Stewart, in his book *The White Armies of Russia,* the leaders of the White Armies were generally the authority figures of tsarist Russia. These men included military officers, nobility, Church leaders, and landowners. In many of the rural areas of Russia, these figures still held vast influence over the peasantry due to their residual authority, and many peasants followed them out of past loyalty (Stewart, 1970, p. 23).

Authority for the Whites also derived from the institution of the Tsar of Russia. Although the Tsar was out of favor in the major cities of European Russia, the authority of his office was still powerful in the rural areas. They had yet to experience the massive uprisings of Soviets that the cities had, and the leadership of the White took advantage of that by using the Tsar's authority to enlist the peasantry (Stewart, 1970, p. 23). This was also one of the reasons the Reds felt it necessary to execute the Tsar—and his family.

The White Armies also used the support of Allies to establish authority. This was especially true in South Russia where Allied weapons and munitions strengthened the authority of the White Armies in the South. The support of the Allies provided the Whites with a source of authority in the international community. This was vital to their cause, since they did not control many sources of armament and relied on outside aid to get weaponry (Lincoln, 1989, p. 198).

4.   The Role of Liking

The principle of liking was also an important factor in the influence of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, mostly through the aspect of association. Similarity was not as important a factor in the influence of the central leadership on the population, as the leaders of the party were not of the same socio-economic class. On the other hand, similarity became a factor as the members of the working class began supporting the party, which influenced their peers to do the same. It was the party's association with the interests of the working class, however, that had the most powerful effect on the support of the population.

One association that was particularly effective for the party was its anti-war position. Russia's involvement in World War I was becoming an increasingly contentious issue with both the workers and peasants of the country. It was a drain on the fragile economy, and many Russians were killed in the war. The Bolsheviks were strongly opposed to the war, and their association with the anti-war position was attractive to the population (DeFronzo, 1991).

The principle of liking was also a major factor in Lenin's influence with the party members and the population. According to Pipes, the primary source of his appeal to the

party was his complete identification with the cause itself. To Lenin, his person and the socialist cause were one in the same. This was not merely a perception that he desired to project, he firmly believed in this assertion. This made him extremely popular in socialist circles, but also translated into an uncompromising morality where grey areas did not exist. While he was well-liked by those that supported the Bolsheviks, he was a dangerous enemy to those who did not (Pipes, 1990).

The black-and-white viewpoint exhibited by Lenin further increased his likability to fellow socialists through his loyalty to those he considered friends. He was actually quite tolerant of opposing viewpoints within his own circle of followers, which endeared him to those in the party. The same good-versus-evil outlook also resulted in Lenin's own brand of modesty. Lenin never encouraged blind devotion to himself as a leader— only support of Lenin's being one with the proletariat. His modesty was another attractive aspect that encouraged his likability (Pipes, 1990).

Lenin's persona appealed to the population in addition to the leaders of the party. Lenin never deviated from his position as the champion of the proletariat. His public statements always included rhetoric concerning the repression of the common worker and the need for socialist reform. Although he was not a member of the proletariat, his complete association with the workers' well-being effectively made him one with the workers (Trotsky, 1959).

5.   The Role of Social Proof

With the multitude of rival factions, an unstable government, and a crippled economy, the Russian population was faced with a great deal of uncertainty. This provided an ideal atmosphere for the influence of the social proof principle. The people needed direction, and they often looked to their peers within their socio-economic class for guidance. Uncertainty also affected the pseudo-intellectuals and displaced peasants of Russia, and the Bolsheviks provided an answer to the country's ambiguity. According to Pipes, Lenin's party gave the people a sense of belonging and cohesion in a chaotic country (Pipes, 1990).

Social proof was also a factor in party fundraising. It was very popular for the social elite to contribute some of their wealth to social revolutionary causes. These contributions were not given out of support for the revolutionaries, but out of social pressure from those in their own economic class. The cause of the Bolsheviks was completely detrimental to their lifestyle and livelihood, but they contributed out pressure to conform to their social circles (Pipes, 1990).

6.   Other Uses of the Principles of Influence

The principle of commitment and consistency was also at work within the leadership of the Bolsheviks. There was no question that Lenin was the epitome of commitment to the socialist cause. Lenin completely internalized his commitment and never wavered from the goal of a socialist Russia. It was through consistency to that commitment that he often performed very cruel and brutal acts. There was never a hint of remorse from Lenin when he would condone terror or condemn a man to death. These things were merely a means to an end, and he never bothered with the morality of such acts (Pipes, 1990). It was this commitment, however, that allowed the Red Armies to unite under a single banner. The single-minded commitment to the cause of the Revolution reverberated throughout the ranks of the Reds, and produced a unified front against the White Armies (Lincoln, 1989, p. 199).

Commitment and consistency also played a role in the influence that Lenin had over the other members of the party. In the period between the February Revolution and the October Revolution, there was much debate and strife among the members of the Bolshevik Party. Many had begun to lose faith in Lenin, due to his unyielding stance on the direction of the Revolution. His core supporters, however, never abandoned the commitment made to the party and to Lenin. Following the imprisonment of Trotsky and Lenin's disappearance from the party following the July Days, Stalin took up the mantle of leadership and fiercely defended Lenin and his vision for the party (Adams, 1972). His commitment helped to hold the Bolsheviks together following the July Days disaster.

Commitment and consistency were also utilized by the White Armies in the Russian Civil War. Commitment to the Motherland, and to the Tsar, was a common

theme in the rhetoric of the White Armies. This commitment to Russia was a powerful motivator for the officers and conscripts in the White Armies. Unfortunately, that commitment often translated only to the local garrisons and pockets of Whites throughout the country. This proved to be a major problem, since the Whites never fully united under one banner. Although the officers and troops were committed to their own units, they could not commit to a unified cause (Lincoln, 1989, p. 199).

Scarcity played a role in the Bolsheviks' influence with the workers and peasants of Russia. As with other insurgencies and revolutions, newly experienced scarcity was an impetus for a sweeping socialist revolution. In this case, it was the economic hardship experienced by the population during World War I, and the tsar's inability to alleviate the woes of the Russian people. Although revolutionaries were active within Russia since the late 19th century, it took shortages of money and food during the war to push the country into revolution. Lenin, while vehemently opposed to Russia's involvement in the war, recognized the opportunity provided by the hardship experienced during the war (DeFronzo, 1991).

C.   MAU MAU UPRISING

1.   Background

The Mau Mau Uprising was an insurgency against British colonial rule in Kenya from 1952-1956. As with many African nations at this time, colonial rule by the European settlers was becoming an increasing point of tension. The uprising was led primarily by the Kikuyu people of the Kenyan highlands. A history of unfair land practices and tenant labor fueled much of the contention between the Kikuyu and the European settlers. While the Kikuyu were allowed a small patch of land on which to farm—in exchange for labor—they had no actual rights to that land. European settlers owned most of the desirable farmland, while the Kikuyu were relegated to a relatively small "native reserve" (Polk, 2007, pp. 108-109).

Recognizing the unfair practices enforced by the colonial government, a small group of educated Kikuyu formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). The British continued to strip away Kikuyu rights, and by 1934, they controlled almost all of the

good land in Kenya. This resulted in severe overcrowding in both the Kikuyu reserve and the main cities. At the outset of World War II, the British outlawed the KCA as a wartime "security measure," and the Kikuyu lost their only peaceful means of addressing grievances with the colonial government. The KCA, however, continued operating and recruiting in secrecy (Polk, 2007, p. 110).

The younger, educated Kikuyu began searching for a way to organize a resistance movement against colonial rule. In the absence of such revolutionary catalysts such as Communism, nationalism, or religion, they turned to a traditional Kikuyu form of association known as "oathing," a form of commitment that will be discussed later in this chapter.

The insurgency—known by the British as the Emergency—began in earnest in 1952, with most of the fighting taking place between October 1952 and July 1953. The small band of about thirty insurgents had grown to about four thousand under the leadership of Waruhiu Itote, known as "General China." This group quickly took control of the Kikuyu area of Kenya. The new governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, believed that the Mau Mau was a completely illegitimate movement, and that mass arrests were necessary to quell the dissenters. He proceeded to apprehend many who turned out to be moderate Kikuyu, including Jomo Kenyatta—the leader of the British-sanctioned Kenya African Union (KAU). These moderates were actually working to calm the rebellion, and the arrests resulted in a surge of support for the insurgents (Polk, 2007, pp. 115-116).

With the support for Mau Mau growing in the population, Baring began a massive hunt for the insurgents. His methods of using foreign fighters and brutal tactics alarmed both the Kikuyu and the British government. In response, London sent General George Erskine to deal with the Emergency. He immediately realized that the Mau Mau was deeply entrenched in the Kikuyu population, and that brutal tactics would not be sufficient to quell the rebellion. Erskine realized that he needed intelligence on Mau Mau in order to find supporters and understand their motives (Polk, 2007, pp. 116-118).

In 1954, the British managed to capture Itote, and received valuable intelligence from him. Based on this intelligence, the British were able to capture warriors and

leaders of the Mau Mau, and separated them from the support population. They also employed "pseudo gangs" to infiltrate the Mau Mau and lead them into ambushes. This method proved highly effective in eliminating Mau Mau members. The pseudo gangs were, however, unable to completely shut down the insurgency, and the British turned to the Kikuyu elders and Christians for help. These groups benefited from British rule, and they willingly aided the military in defeating the insurgency. Still, the uprising continued.

Despite attempts by the British to capture and kill Mau Mau leaders and warriors, they were not effective in ending the insurgency. Baring refused to address the underlying issue of unfair land practices, and created "villages" where the natives were crammed into small areas. These were viewed as prison camps by the Kikuyu. Various other efforts, including "counter-oaths" to break the Mau Mau oath, were generally ineffective. Although the insurgents were handily defeated militarily, the settlers failed to address the underlying issues that began the uprising. In 1959, the British began dismantling the campaign, and removing the control of the settlers in Kenya. In 1961, Jomo Kenyatta was released from prison to begin building an independent Kenyan government that took control in 1963. With the British gone and Kenya independent, the Mau Mau insurgency simple dissolved (Polk, 2007).

2.   The Role of Commitment and Consistency

While the Mau Mau employed several of Cialdini's weapons in gaining influence in the population, none was more prevalent or effective than commitment and consistency. This insurgency provides a perfect example of the application of the principle in order to gain influence and recruit members. The Mau Mau used the Kikuyu tradition of oath taking and used it to gain members and maintain their support. These oaths took advantage of this tradition, along with the superstition surrounding the breaking of oaths, to maintain secrecy and fight against the European settlers.

According to John McConnell in his study of the Mau Mau Uprising, Kikuyu oaths were traditionally benign in nature, and were primarily used to affirm allegiance to the tribe. The Mau Mau, however, used oaths to ensure commitment to the insurgency

and violence against the settlers (McConnell, 2005, p. 22). Not only did these oaths commit the Kikuyu to the cause of the Mau Mau, they also used the superstitious nature of these oaths guarantee consistency in the future. While Kikuyu nationalism was rooted in years of oppression and British injustice, it was oath taking that provided the militant nature of the resistance.

The Mau Mau used oath taking in much the same way that the Chinese manipulated the commitment principle in breaking American POWs. According to the Majdalany's book, *State of Emergency*, the Mau Mau oath was taken in steps so that the first oath taken was relatively benign. The first oath simply demanded allegiance and secrecy from those taking the oath. These oaths were designed to promote unity of the people, and did not demand any violent action of the oath taker. The unity oath was generally taken verbally, and without any accompanying actions.

An example of the unity oath is as follows:

- If I ever reveal the secrets of this organization, may this oath kill me.
- If I ever sell or dispose of any Kikuyu land to a foreigner, may this oath kill me.
- If I ever fail to follow our great leader, Kenyatta, may this oath kill me.
- If I ever inform against any member of this organization or against any member who steals from the European, may this oath kill me.
- If I ever fail to pay the fees of this organization, may this oath kill me. (Majdalany, 1962, pp. 76-77)

These unity oaths were the first step in gaining compliance from the Kikuyu people. They were able to gain support by forcing a commitment to the Mau Mau verbally and in front of their peers. According to Wunyabari Maloba in his book, *Mau Mau and Kenya*, "[The unity oath] was a recruitment drive, secretly extending political consciousness and commitment to the nationalist struggle" (Maloba, 1993, p. 102). These oaths also utilized traditional oath-taking symbols, such as eating goat meat, to emphasize the seriousness of the promise that was made. The utilization of symbols

reinforces Cialdini's conclusions that the commitment principle is more powerful when the target performs an action in conjunction with making the commitment.

While most Kikuyu who were given oaths stopped at the first level, the unity oath, the Mau Mau warriors were given a second oath, the Batuni oath, to further emphasize commitment to the insurgency. Just as the Chinese demanded stronger commitments from the American POWs, the Mau Mau administered stronger oaths to those that would be engaging in armed conflict with the Europeans. The Batuni oath involved many of the same commitments made in the unity oath, while adding a violent component to it. It included swearing to kill on behalf of the Mau Mau and to never fear killing Europeans in order to win back lost Kikuyu lands. The actions required to take the Banuti oath were far more bizarre and elaborate than the unity oath. These actions often involved sexual symbolism that was deeply rooted in traditional Kikuyu beliefs. According to Maloba, the act of taking the Batuni oath demonstrated a higher sense of commitment to the cause (Maloba, 1993, p. 103).

As the war progressed, and the Mau Mau warriors became more desperate, the oaths became more and more exotic. Maloba states that the fighters turned to extreme oaths as a source of courage and dedication. It was also in response to the pseudo gangs used by the British to infiltrate the camps to separate the Mau Mau from the imposters (Maloba, 1993). As they became more desperate, the principle of consistency caused them to perform more powerful acts to prove their commitment to the Mau Mau cause. Much like the religious cult in Festinger's study, the hopelessness and uncertainty of a losing cause strengthened the members' commitment to the insurgency.

3.   The Role of Authority

The Mau Mau's use of authority was another principle—like commitment and consistency—that exploited the superstitious nature of the Kikuyu people. While politicians and activists alone failed to incite the Kikuyu to rebellion, the Mau Mau succeeded by becoming a religion unto itself. The Kikuyu culture was one deeply rooted in religious beliefs and, by giving the appearance of religious authority, the insurgency was able to influence those that they previously could not.

Cialdini demonstrated how people could be influenced by the appearance of authority, even when real authority was not present. He stated that symbols could be used to convey this appearance of authority. These were concepts which the Mau Mau used extensively to gain support from the Kikuyu community. The Mau Mau borrowed symbols from both Christianity and traditional Kikuyu religious beliefs in order to create a political and military organization that became a pseudo-religion (Majdalany, 1963, pp. 72-74).

At the time, the Kikuyu were a spiritually vulnerable society that was seeking to reconcile Christianity with the ancient religion of the culture. The Mau Mau presented a solution which was "a subtle invocation of primeval forces, long forgotten, but still unknowingly felt in the deep subconscious" (Majdalany, 1963, p. 72). By merging the traditional beliefs of the culture with Christian themes, the Mau Mau "religion" provided the direction the Kikuyu needed in a world of uncertainty.

In order to reinforce the authority of the Mau Mau religion, its leaders borrowed from Christian hymns and the Apostles Creed. McConnell observes that the Mau Mau creed was constructed to make allusions to both the traditional and Christian belief structures. This creed was repeated daily by its followers, and its primary public figure, Jomo Kenyatta, was introduced as a proxy for Jesus Christ (McConnell, 2005, p. 21). By elevating Kenyatta to the divine, the Mau Mau provided the Kikuyu a needed symbol of authority and guidance. The insurgency also used church leaders to proclaim the righteousness of this new religion, adding to the validity of the Mau Mau as a source of authority.

According to Majdalany, the Mau Mau would begin meetings under the respectable cover of the KAU. These meetings incorporated the subversive Mau Mau hymns in order to spread their propaganda. After this part of the meeting, the real Mau Mau meeting would begin where recruitment, oath taking, and calls to violence would occur. This strategy had two profound effects. First, subversive propaganda was projected by the authority of the KAU and the religion of the Mau Mau. Second, the religious atmosphere invoked the authority of God that created the impression that the

crowd was called to fight for a holy cause (Majdalany, 1963, pp. 73-74). The Mau Mau leaders' profound understanding of the Kikuyu need for spirituality allowed them to gain influence where none existed before.

4.   The Role of Social Proof

Cialdini's principle of social proof was used extensively by the Mau Mau, due to the suspicious and reclusive nature of the Kikuyu people. According to Majdalany, the Kikuyu possess an arrogance that borders on a sense of superiority. While detrimental to those attempting to gain the trust of the people, this arrogance also fosters a powerful sense of community among the people. An adverse effect of the Kikuyu sense of superiority is a "type of mass neurosis which, masquerading as patriotism or nationalism, can temporarily drive a people mad" (Majdalany, 1963, p. 30). This aspect of the Kikuyu renders the people extremely susceptible to the use of the social proof principle.

Cialdini proposed two conditions by which the principle of social proof was particularly powerful: uncertainty and similarity. The situation in Kenya exhibited both of these characteristics, which provided an environment open to exploitation. Uncertainty among the Kikuyu, however, was mostly a product of the actions of Mau Mau themselves. The Kikuyu had adapted well to the policies of the British, and the tribe was generally content—with the exception of the extreme nationalists (Majdalany, 1963). The fanaticism of the Mau Mau religion, coupled with the increasingly severe reaction of the British to Mau Mau violence, was instrumental in creating the uncertainty necessary to unite the Kikuyu people.

The Mau Mau's method of recruiting took the principle of similarity beyond the Kikuyu community as a whole. The units were often based on the structure of dispersed village groups. These villages had an innate sense of community, and traditionally responded to any neighbor in need. The Mau Mau used this dynamic to expand their membership to the friends, neighbors, and relatives of those already committed to the insurgency (Barnett & Njama, 1966). By initially recruiting a small number of people in a community, the principle of social proof took over and others followed.

5. Other Uses of the Principles of Influence

Although commitment and consistency, authority, and social proof were the primary principles of influence used by the Mau Mau insurgency to gain influence, two additional principles were used to a lesser extent. Liking was specifically employed by the Mau Mau and its political front, the KAU. Physical attractiveness and association were the primary aspects of liking used by both entities. Majdalany describes Jomo Kenyatta as a tall, athletically built, and handsome man—attributes that made him a popular figure (Majdalany, 1963, p. 48). Kenyatta's physical attributes, along with his eloquence and charm, contributed to his rise as the leader of the KAU and his influence with the Kikuyu population.

The Mau Mau also utilized association primarily through the role of women in their organization. Majdalany states that women played an important role in the growth of the organization. The Mau Mau included a quota of women in their fighting gangs in order to attract young men to the group. By associating their organization with women, they were able to bring young fighting men into the insurgency (Majdalany, 1963, p. 60).

The principle of liking also influenced the British settlers in Kenya. The Europeans living in the country generally liked the Kikuyu who worked for them on their estates. They could not believe that their servants would join a violent organization like Mau Mau. The settlers' liking of their servants backfired when those same servants would act against them in Mau Mau raids of the settlers' estates. The Europeans' affection for their servants influenced their actions in protecting themselves from the insurgents' attacks (Majdalany, 1963, p. 120).

Scarcity was not actively used by the Mau Mau during their uprising against the British. The principle, however, still played a role in influencing the Kikuyu population. Cialdini described the phenomenon of "newly experienced" scarcity, by which an uprising or revolution is more likely during a period of hardship that follows a period of relative abundance. The population, having experienced economic success or increased civil rights, revolts when these are taken away. This was the case in the Mau Mau Uprising as well. Although British land policies concerning the Kikuyu were unfair long

before the uprising, scarcity of land designated for the Kikuyu worsened following World War II. This caused increased resentment toward the European settlers, and incited many to join the Mau Mau insurgency.

6.   Use of the Principles of Influence in Counterinsurgency Efforts

The British also used Cialdini's principles in their counterinsurgency campaign against the Mau Mau. As previously stated, the British used pseudo-gangs in order to infiltrate the Mau Mau camps and eradicate the cells. This took advantage of the commitments made by the Mau Mau insurgents, and they used those commitments against them. Because the Mau Mau relied on commitment in order to recruit its members, the British were able to use agents to make those same commitments and infiltrate the Mau Mau.

The British also implemented social programs in their efforts to get commitments from the Kikuyu people. They initiated a program of the Scouts for the boys and young men of the Kenya. The purpose of the Scouts was to instill a sense of community and loyalty to the colonial government, and was effective in getting the young men to make a commitment to a group outside of the Mau Mau (McConnell, 2005, p. 33).

The British also used reciprocation in their attempts to "reeducate" the detained Mau Mau insurgents. Reeducation was based around the British being able to convince individuals that the path to success was through the colonials, not through the Mau Mau. The British offered the insurgents a better life than that of a Mau Mau terrorist, and this proved to be effective in siphoning supporters away from the Mau Mau (McConnell, 2005, p. 31).

Reciprocation was also used to address one of the issues that first led to the rise of the Mau Mau: land. As the British seized lands occupied by the Mau Mau, they would turn control of that land over to Kikuyu people that were loyal to the government. Land reform practices gave the Kikuyu their own land to cultivate and earn a profit. This was also effective in gaining some support for the British government in Kenya (McConnell, 2005, pp. 34-35).

D. THE 26TH OF JULY MOVEMENT (THE CUBAN REVOLUTION)

1. Background

The 26th of July Movement (M-26-7) was the insurgent revolutionary organization, led by Fidel Castro that, in 1959, overthrew the Batista government in Cuba. M-26-7, its name taken from a failed attack by Castro on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, re-formed in 1955 by a group of exiled revolutionaries, including Castro, his brother, Raul, and Argentinean Ernesto Che Guevara. Its goal was to train an organized guerrilla force dedicated to the installation of a new government in Cuba. The insurgency operated in Cuba from 1953 to 1958, and ended in 1959 with Castro's takeover (DeFronzo, 1991).

Cuba was a Spanish colony from its discovery by Christopher Columbus to the late 19th century. In 1898, after years of struggle for independence from Spain, the United States assumed control of the island following its victory in the Spanish-American War. The Americans relinquished control of Cuba to the independent government in 1902, with the stipulation that the U.S. would have the right to intervene for the preservation of an independent Cuba. During the first half of the 20th century, Cuba experienced several tumultuous coups and takeovers. Fidel Castro, already a noted orator and political activist, was running for congress in the 1952 elections under the Ortodoxo party. He had already built a strong base of support, and his victory was all but assured. This changed when, three months before the election, former president, Fulgencio Batista, staged a coup and took control of the government. It was at then that Castro and his brother decided to turn to armed insurrection to force a change in Cuba (DeFronzo, 1991).

Castro's group decided that armed insurrection was necessary to oust Batista. The rebels planned to take the Moncada Barracks in Santiago in order to establish a base for a general uprising. The raid was a failure, and the Castros and several others were arrested and incarcerated. Batista, seeking to improve his public image, released the popular rebels after a short prison term. Looking to avoid any obstacles in reorganizing the revolution, Castro fled to Mexico in 1955.

While in Mexico, Castro consolidated his power base and organized training for the rebel faction. During this time, he travelled to the United States and raised thousands of dollars for arms and supplies from Cuban exiles. While in Mexico, the Castro brothers met Ernesto Che Guevara, who also joined M-26-7. Having sufficiently armed and trained his followers, Castro set his sights on a return to Cuba.

In December 1956, Castro and a group of rebels landed in Cuba, but were soon ambushed by Batista's forces acting on a tip from a local guide. The Castros and Guevara escaped and reassembled in the mountains, where they quickly gained support and recruits from the local rural population. Here they staged ambushes and raids on vulnerable military outposts in order to stockpile weapons for the coming conflict. In order to undermine the rebel cause, Batista declared that Castro had been killed. Castro responded by inviting a reporter from *The New York Times* for an interview. His charisma and claims of seeking peaceful relations with the United States resulted in widespread support for M-26-7 in the United States and elsewhere (DeFronzo, 1991).

M-26-7 gained more support by organizing a National Directorate that included representatives from moderate groups and the rebel guerrillas, united to oust the Batista regime. Throughout 1957 and 1958, urban assaults by moderate factions outside of Castro's control were met with defeat at the hands of the regime. This benefited M-26-7 in that the elimination of moderate leaders increased the influence of Castro as a leader of the revolution. The failed assaults also resulted in popular outrage at the brutal treatment of revolutionaries at the hands of Batista's forces. Soon after, the United States severed all support of Batista's military, taking away a major supply of arms for the conflict.

At this point, morale in the Cuban military was quickly declining, due to defeats at the hands of the mountain rebels and the shortage of arms and munitions. Corruption raged in the officer ranks, and any remaining popular support for the military quickly declined. As a result, M-26-7 accomplished a decisive victory over Batista's forces in the summer of 1958. Soon after, a large number of guerrillas, led by Guevara, descended into the lowlands and quickly overran the garrison at Santiago. The rebels faced little

resistance from the demoralized Cuban army. By January 1959, Batista had fled the country, and Castro had seized power in Cuba. The event was enthusiastically received by the people of Cuba (DeFronzo, 1991).

2. The Role of Authority

The authority of M-26-7's leadership, particularly Fidel Castro, was a major factor in the insurgency's influence on the people of Cuba. The organization centered its actions and ideas on those of Castro. Castro was an educated man, heavily involved in the politics of the country, and had already gained a large following prior to Batista's coup. Castro's foray into Cuban politics established his authority as a political figure well before M-26-7's insurgency began.

Although Castro was the primary authority figure in the organization, he enlisted the help of recognized leaders in Cuba in order to increase the perception of the insurgency's legitimacy. These men included Raúl Chibás, brother of the founder of the Ortodoxo Party and Felipe Pazos, former president of the National Bank. Together they issued a joint statement advocating a provisional government, civil liberties, and social reform (Pérez-Stable, 1993). These men lent the insurgency legitimacy via their positions as authority figures in the country.

Castro also invoked the authority of the 1940 Cuban Constitution in order to project legitimacy and gain influence. Castro's assertion that the aims of his organization were to restore the Constitution of 1940 utilized the authority inherent in a legal national document such as a constitution. This public assertion by Castro provided the appearance of authority necessary to use the principle for influence of the population. In reality, the insurgency's activities focused mainly on the ousting of Batista, rather than the specifics of a post-Batista Cuba (Pérez-Stable, 1993, p. 59).

3. The Role of Commitment and Consistency

Commitment to the cause of M-26-7 by the central leadership of the insurgency mostly came in the form of publicized written statements asserting their goals. While these statements served to increase the visibility of the group within the country, they

also committed the leadership to the direction of armed insurrection (Pérez-Stable, 1993). By assuming responsibility of their actions and asserting dedication to the goal of ousting Batista, the leaders of group demonstrated Cialdini's assertion that public and written statements strengthen the power of commitment.

The most powerful of these written public statements was the Sierra Manifesto, a document that was a source of much contention with M-26-7. This Manifesto not only outlined the demands and goals of the insurgency, but also partially outlined the future of Cuba after Batista was brought down (Guevara, 1996, p. 194-196). Although the document was not fully supported by Castro or Guevara, it was published in Cuban newspapers, and demonstrated the commitment of the organization to the people of Cuba. Even if the Manifesto was not fully supported by the leadership, it still acted as an official public statement committing them to a particular path.

4.   The Role of Liking

Liking was another principle critical to the influence of Castro and M-26-7. Liking was evident in gaining influence both internally and internationally. Both the organization as a whole and Castro as its leader benefited from the principle. M-26-7 stood for principles which were attractive to both Cubans and those outside of the country, and Castro's persona made him a likable individual.

Castro was considered an extremely gifted orator with a very likable public personality. Privately, he was a fierce supporter of those who sympathized with his cause, which made him quite popular within the organization itself. Aside from the authority he exhibited as leader of the insurgency, its members genuinely liked him as a man. Internationally, Castro desired the support of displaced Cubans living in the United States. His interview with *The New York Times* in 1957 had a particularly positive effect on his image abroad. He presented himself as a moderate patriot without ties to Marxism fighting a corrupt dictatorship. The interview not only provided hope to the Cuban communities in America, but also appealed to ideals which are considered admirable in

the United States population as a whole (DeFronzo, 1991). This perception increased his likability in a country with which Cuba had a tenuous relationship. Many aspects of his perceived ideals, however, would prove to be false.

According to Guevara, Castro was very loyal to his friends within the insurgent organization. During their incarceration following the failed raid on Moncada, the group never lost confidence in their leader. He was committed to the people he led, and would not leave a man behind, even if it was detrimental to the revolutionary cause. Guevara states that Castro's personal attitude toward the people in his organization was the key to the fanatical loyalty he inspired (Guevara, 1996, p. 85). Castro's personal loyalty to his people made him an extremely likable leader.

The M-26-7 itself also employed liking in order to gain influence. Because of its association with goals such as agrarian reform and personal civil liberties, the insurgency was well liked by the working class and farmers of Cuba. These ideals also appealed to people living outside of the country, within and outside of the displaced Cuban population.

5.   Other Uses of the Principles of Influence

Castro and M-26-7 also used reciprocation and social proof in the insurgency's attempts to gain influence, both internally and externally. The ideals which the organization supported were not only important to the liking of the insurgents, but were also a promise to the working-class and famers of Cuba. Their promises of agrarian reform, restoration of civil liberties, and a greater distribution of sugar profits served as an offering to the majority of the Cuban people (Pérez-Stable, 1993). By offering these things to the people, the insurgency gained support through reciprocation.

The organization offered more than just the promise of change as an offering for the support of the Cubans. The insurgency also provided much-needed relief for the peasants living in the areas of the Sierras controlled by the rebel guerrillas. The people were provided with medicines, food, and trade by the rebel army. According to Guevara, the rebels set up lucrative trade agreements with the peasants in the area—an agreement that benefitted both parties (Guevara, 1996). Not only did the rebels acquire needed

supplies in exchange, but they also received total support from the local population. The principle of reciprocation required that the population support the rebels in return for the benefits they received.

The rebels also used the uncertainty of the Cuban people to gain influence through social proof. Guevara's "Foco Theory," which he published in his book *Guerrilla Warfare* in 1960, was a key basis of Castro's revolution. The Foco Theory's idea of near-simultaneous uprisings reflects a kind of "social proof" effect. Every rural area through which the rebel army marched had been repressed by the Cuban government. Their lands had been taken away, and they were forced to relocate by wealthy landowners or the government itself. Everyday life of these people was filled with constant uncertainty, which M-26-7 used to provide direction to these peasants. The rebels also took advantage of similarity to strengthen the social proof principle. The army was a group of seemly hardworking Cuban men wearing straw hats (Guevara, 1996). It was a group of people with which the peasantry could identify, and that could provide the direction desired by the people in these rural areas.

6.   Use of the Principles of Influence in Counterinsurgency Efforts

Batista utilized some of Cialdini's principles, but not to any great extent. Batista generally leaned on the power of his army to maintain control, but he also utilized both authority and reciprocation after the election of 1954. Batista used the authority of a democratic election to bolster his claim that his rule was legitimate. Although he was unopposed, the "overwhelming support" of the Cuban people was his claim as the authority figure of the Cuban government. While this was temporarily effective in stabilizing the Cuban government, the authority of his election was never fully accepted (Pérez-Stable, 1993, p. 53).

Batista also used reciprocation in the form of "concessions." Cialdini stated that concessions are often used to gain an unfair advantage for those seeking compliance. By conceding certain points he tried to get the people to accept his claim as dictator of Cuba. These included the right of political parties to convene and amnesty for political prisoners. These supposed gifts from Batista to the people were unable to mask the

corrupt nature of the Cuban government. Batista attempted to gain influence by reciprocating, but was never able to quell his dissenters (Pérez-Stable, 1993, p. 54).

E. EOKA AND CYPRUS

1. Background

Ethnike Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) was an extreme right-wing insurgent organization that fought against British rule in Cyprus from 1955-1959. Led by General George Grivas, EOKA's purpose was: "By deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice to draw the attention of international public opinion…to the Cyprus question" (Grivas, 1962, p. 5). The "Cyprus question" was the idea of freeing Cyprus from British colonial rule. While it was never official stated by Grivas, it is generally accepted that EOKA's aims included enosis (i.e., unification of Greece and Cyprus).

Cyprus has a long history of occupation, from the Phoenicians to the British. While it is not large, its location in the Mediterranean Sea is of strategic importance. In the late 1800s, Cyprus was a little-used outpost in the Ottoman Empire, and the British came to an occupation agreement with the Turks in 1878. Although England was still an occupier, the majority Greek Cypriots saw hope in the new rule after years of oppression by the Turkish government. The British improved infrastructure, maintained peace, and allowed religious freedom in the country. The British government's promises of reunification with Greece, however, remained unfulfilled.

In 1925, the British officially declared Cyprus a crown colony, and relations between the government and Greek Cypriots continued to deteriorate. Several years of unrest followed, highlighted by demonstrations and a minor uprising in 1931. Almost two decades of authoritarian rule followed, and in 1948, the British government offered Cypriots increased representation in the legislature. The Cypriots rejected the offer, declaring that Enosis was the only acceptable offer. In response, the British banned the idea of Enosis in speech and print. This only further incited the Enosis movement (Foley & Scobie, 1975).

In 1950, Makarios III was named Archbishop of Cyprus, and became the civil leader of the Greek Cypriots by tradition. Makarios greatly supported the Enosis movement, and was inciting support for the movement among the Greek Cypriots. He continued to press his case to the largely indifferent international community, while the frequency of Enosis demonstrations increased. Having determined that stronger action was needed, Makarios recruited Grivas to lead the cause in Cyprus and in 1951, Grivas arrived in Cyprus in secrecy (Foley & Scobie, 1975).

Grivas believed that the support of the Greek Cypriot population was essential to the success of a guerrilla campaign on the island, due to its small size and harsh terrain. To gain that support, he decided that recruiting the youth of Cyprus would serve as a catalyst to incite the generally passive Greek Cypriot population. While Grivas continued to garner support for the insurgency, Makarios worked to achieve a diplomatic solution to the Cyprus question (Grivas, 1962). The British, however, withdrawing their forces from the Suez Canal, and decided on Cyprus as its bastion of influence in the Middle East. Thus, the number of British troops on the island was gradually increasing.

In 1954, preparations for the campaign against the British began in earnest. Grivas began training the group in the use of small arms and explosives, and maintained strict secrecy on his location and actions. In January 1955, a major arms shipment from Greece was confiscated by the British, and Grivas was forced to begin operations with a much smaller number of arms than originally planned. He was able to salvage explosive materials from old British mines and shells, and the group began manufacturing explosives from local materials. On April 1, 1955, Grivas gave the order for the first attacks to commence in the town of Nicosia, and proclaimed the name of the insurgency to be EOKA (Foley & Scobie, 1975).

The EOKA campaign was unique in that its targets were generally military installations and patrols, police forces, and British soldiers and informers. The insurgency did not make any attempts for territorial control, due to the ratio of British to EOKA forces and the unique terrain of the island. The campaign of bombings and small skirmishes continued for several years. The British were never dealt a crippling blow by EOKA, but the insurgency continued to gain support from the local population. The fear

of attack, however, slowly drained at the British forces in Cyprus, and the resulting lack of restraint prompted the use of unconventional methods in countering EOKA. The British began to assume that every Greek was a potential guerrilla, and harsh restrictions were placed on the population (Foley & Scobie, 1975).

In late 1958, Grivas bowed to pressure from Athens and declared a suspension of EOKA operations in support of peace talks to settle the Cyprus question. In February 1959, a decision was reached to declare the island an independent nation with a set ratio of minority Turkish and majority Greek representation in government, and British control of certain bases. Makarios agreed to this accord without Grivas' input, and Grivas felt that it went against the ideals of the EOKA movement. Makarios, however, agreed to the terms under the threat of partitioning the island. Soon after, Grivas and Makarios mended the disagreement and EOKA was disbanded. While Enosis was never achieved, EOKA had succeeded in forcing the issue and essentially ending British rule of Cyprus (Foley & Scobie, 1975).

2. The Role of Commitment and Consistency

General Grivas employed several methods in order to strengthen the commitment of his young guerrilla troops in the fight against the British in Cyprus. Like the Mau Mau, EOKA employed a form of oath taking that committed young men to the cause. These oaths, however, were much milder in form and action than the extreme Mau Mau oaths. Additionally, EOKA oaths did not evoke the mysticism and superstition that the Mau Mau oaths possessed. On the other hand, the oaths administered by EOKA did provide the strength of the verbal commitment that Cialdini describes.

According to Foley and Scobie in *The Struggle for Cyprus*, Grivas and other EOKA leaders administered oaths to the young fighters. They were made to place their hands on the Bible and swear to work for the liberation of Cyprus, to obey their leaders' orders, and to never reveal the secrets of the organization (1975). The use of the Bible added to the seriousness of the oath by including the religion of the Greek Cypriots in the ceremony. The importance of the Greek Orthodox religion was central to the EOKA struggle and will be discussed at length later in this chapter.

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Grivas also employed the same basic technique used by the Chinese as described by Cialdini. The actions initially taken by the Greek Cypriot fighters involved non-violent political actions in order to solidify their commitment to the organization. In *Guerrilla Warfare*, Grivas describes his method of increasingly violent commitments to EOKA. First, he would task the young Greek Cypriots to distribute proclamations, rouse demonstrations, and collect information on those suspected of supporting the British. Subsequently, he assigned these same youths to organize saboteurs, manufacture explosives, and supervise passive resistance measures. From this group of young men, Grivas would select the guerrilla fighters he used in the fight against the British (Grivas, 1964).

3.   The Role of Authority

The authority of the EOKA insurgency mostly derived from its backing and leadership of Archbishop Makarios, and through him, the Orthodox Church. Makarios' use of authority extended beyond the island of Cyprus and into his dealings with the Greek government in Athens as well. The Orthodox Church provided the Greek Cypriots with a sense of community on an island shared with Turks and ruled by the British. The Greek Cypriot loyalty to the Orthodox Church provided the authority and direction needed to incite the population to resistance. In his study of social change and the case of Cyprus, Kyriacos Markides suggests that without the involvement of the Church, the evolution of the movement may have been very different (Markides, 1974). This indicates that the power of the Church's authority in Cyprus was very important to the movement.

The office of the Archbishop of Cyprus was considered to be the only legitimate political representative of the Greek Cypriots. The support of EOKA by the Archbishop of Cyprus translated into support of the insurgency by the entire Greek Cypriot people. Makarios never forgot that it was his title as the archbishop that provided most of his political capital, both in Cyprus and abroad. In order to reinforce this image, he made extensive use of authoritative symbols. The symbols of his office conveyed his authority to both direct and speak for the Cypriot Hellenes.

Cialdini describes the manner in which symbols are able to convey authority. The use of symbols, such as clothes and titles, were instrumental in reinforcing the authority of the Archbishop of Cyprus. Kyriacos Markides, in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*, Makarios utilized such symbols as carrying the Byzantine scepter, wearing purple in ceremonies, and signing his name in red ink. Markides states, "These symbolic rights and pageantry of imperial majesty added special color and glamour to the archbishop's stature and strengthened the roots of his authority" (Markides, 1977, p. 38).

Makarios' position as the archbishop also strengthened his influence in dealing with political entities outside of Cyprus. This was especially true when parlaying with the Greek government in Athens. Due to his position as archbishop, and the importance of the Orthodox Church in Greece, the tradition of kissing the hands of the archbishop extended even to the political leaders of Greece (Markides, 1977). This initial deference to Makarios' office provided at least a modicum of authority in discussions with Athens.

Authority was also a factor in Grivas' influence in Cyprus. His position did not carry the weight of religion behind it, but his followers were fiercely loyal to him. He was an accomplished military leader, and that reputation reinforced his authority as the operational leader of EOKA. Grivas had great confidence in the Greek Cypriots' loyalty to him, and relied on that loyalty to support his military efforts. While his complete commitment to the cause of Enosis contributed to this loyalty, his reputation as an effective military leader. He also utilized a title that conveyed authority by adopting the pseudonym "Diginis" (Grivas, 1964). By taking the name of a legendary folk hero, it added to the mythos of Grivas, bolstering the authority of his proclamations and propaganda.

4. The Role of Social Proof

As stated in Chapter II, Cialdini stresses the role of similarity and uncertainty in enhancing the effectiveness of social proof. He demonstrates that one who can provide direction in an uncertain situation can often elicit compliance from a group of people. The uncertainty of the conflict with the British and the similarity present in the Greek Cypriot community played important roles in EOKA's use of social proof to gain

influence in Cyprus. While Grivas himself provided much of the direction for the Greek Cypriot community, he also employed the same principle in more localized groups.

Grivas realized that the success or failure of EOKA's insurgency was dependent on the support of the Greeks on the island. In order to incite action from the population as a whole, he began by choosing key men from towns where enthusiasm for the patriotic struggle was more apparent. These key men were to inspire action in the people of these towns, and that enthusiasm would then spread among the community. According to Grivas, he was correct in his assumptions (Grivas, 1964).

The practice of recruiting key men took advantage of both similarity and uncertainty. The people needed direction in the conflict, and anyone who could provide direction would likely be followed. Additionally, the key men were not only similar in Greek heritage, but also lived in the towns where they were tasked to take action. Cialdini demonstrated that the more a target of compliance is similar to the one seeking compliance, the stronger the principle of social proof is in a given situation; and Grivas effectively employed this aspect of social proof.

5.   Other Uses of the Principles of Influence

Although commitment and consistency, authority, and social proof were most evident in EOKA's use of the principles of influence, the insurgency also utilized liking and scarcity. As previously demonstrated, Grivas employed the aspect of similarity in order to enhance the effect of social proof. Additionally, he used similarity in a different fashion to improve his image and utilize the principle of liking. According to Foley and Scobie, he changed his manner of dressing in order to suit his surroundings. In an urban setting, Grivas would dress the part of a "sober-suited citizen" with dark glasses and hat. In the mountains, however, he "became the typical Cypriot peasant," wearing peasant clothing, getting a tan, and growing a patriarchal moustache (Foley & Scobie, 1975, p. 55). Although the change in persona most likely had security implications as well, Grivas' similarity to the local population allowed him to exert his influence more effectively.

EOKA also used association to get the population to like the organization, thereby supporting its cause. In keeping with the nationalist nature of the movement, the insurgency associated itself with ideals of patriotism, honor, and the love of Mother Greece (Markides, 1977). Grivas' own strategic plan for the campaign made liberal use of intangible ideals such as heroism, sacrifice, and determination (Grivas, 1963). Furthermore, support from the Orthodox Church produced another positive association for EOKA.

As with the Mau Mau Uprising, the principle of scarcity was manifested in Cialdini's idea of newly experienced scarcity. Just as in Kenya, the British responded to the initial wave of violence in Cyprus with policies that repressed the population's liberties. Policies such as detention without cause, seizure of property, and searches without warrant took away the rights that Cypriots were accustomed to having (Foley & Scobie, 1975). By making scarce the liberties to which the Cypriots had become accustomed, the British inadvertently bolstered EOKA's cause.

One episode of the conflict that illustrates this phenomenon is described in *Guerrilla Warfare*. Grivas demonstrates the effect of scarcity in describing the British banning of the flying of the Greek flag over school buildings. The Greek Cypriots had practiced this for many years as a symbol of solidarity and community. Following the commencement of hostilities, the Greek flag was declared "foreign" by the British government. The result of this action was demonstrations, increased fanaticism among the youth, and more people joining the EOKA cause (Grivas, 1963). Although EOKA did not actively utilize scarcity, the actions of the British were instrumental in introducing the principle to the conflict.

6.   Use of the Principles of Influence in Counterinsurgency Efforts

The British response to the EOKA insurgency was generally devoid of efforts to use Cialdini's principles of influence. The British primarily relied on strength of force and repression of the people in order to maintain order and undermine the efforts of EOKA. While EOKA never was fully defeated by British Forces, they could never really confront the British due to the lack of numbers in the guerrilla forces. EOKA was able to

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disrupt the British efforts, but never overwhelmingly so. The end of the conflict came mostly from Makarios' desire to for peace, which resulted in Cyprus' independence. Although the British never gained much influence with the Greek Cypriot people, it may not have been necessary to do so, due to the generally passive support given to EOKA by the people.

## F.	NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

### 1.	Background

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF), also known as the Viet Cong, was a communist insurgency who waged a guerrilla war against the United States and South Vietnam during the Vietnam War (1959-1975). The organization fought closely with the regular North Vietnamese Army and the government of North Vietnam. The NLF's stated purpose was the reunification of Vietnam, which they hoped to accomplish with the overthrow of the Diem government in South Vietnam. The actions of the NLF were instrumental in withdrawal of U.S. forces and the eventual unification of Vietnam as a Communist state.

The NLF was formed in 1960 by South Vietnamese nationalists under the leadership of the southern branch of Vietnam's Communist party. The derogatory term Viet Cong (Viet Communists) was coined by the Diem government, whom the NLF hoped would quickly fall to a massive popular uprising. The decision to form the NLF for armed resistance was met with overwhelming support from both revolutionaries and Communists in South Vietnam. The ranks of the NLF rapidly expanded to 70,000 by 1963, and attacks on South Vietnam's army increased (DeFronzo, 1991).

With the support of the United States, the Diem government initiated the strategic hamlet program, by which the peasant population was relocated to fortified locations. The goals of the program were to protect the population from NLF terrorism and to isolate the population from the influence of the NLF. This policy, however, was extremely unpopular with the population, and actually aided the NLF recruitment effort.

Diem's efforts to stifle the NLF were largely ineffective, and by 1963, his efforts were clearly losing the war. Diem's unpopularity with the South Vietnamese forces resulted in his execution at the hands of his generals (DeFronzo, 1991).

With the end of the Diem regime, corruption became a major problem for the forces of South Vietnam, and the NLF continued to expand its influence in the south. The United States concluded that a stronger military presence was necessary, and began a massive bombing campaign over North Vietnam in 1965. The escalation of the conflict brought North Vietnamese regulars over the border into South Vietnam to aid the NLF fighters. By 1967, U.S. forces had reached 500,000, and a constrained South Vietnamese election occurred in that same year. These events led to the Communist forces launching the Tet Offensive in 1968 (DeFronzo, 1991).

The Tet Offensive was a major event in the NLF's campaign against the United States and South Vietnam. Communist leaders hoped that the offensive would force Saigon's military into defensive positions; destroy confidence in the Saigon government to provide security; and disrupt any plans of an invasion in the north by the U.S. or South Vietnam. Additionally, they hoped that the offensive would erode U.S. public support for the war. The offensive was conducted almost exclusively by NLF forces, which simultaneously attacked 100 cities and towns, including Saigon itself. Despite early success by the NLF, all major cities and towns that were taken by their forces were quickly recaptured by South Vietnamese and U.S. forces. The NLF suffered heavy casualties, and the offensive was almost a complete military failure, but it was a success in the realm of information warfare.

The Tet Offensive did have positive psychological effects for the NLF efforts. First, Saigon's perceived authority over much of the countryside was weakened. Second, and most importantly, it had a profound negative effect on U.S. public opinion of the war. Following the Tet offensive, the NLF was severely weakened, but those that remained continued to wage the insurgency. By 1973, the United States had already begun transferring military control to South Vietnam, and a peace agreement was reached between the two sides (DeFronzo, 1991).

The 1973 peace agreement allowed for a North Vietnamese presence in the south and a coalition government of both South Vietnamese and NLF officials. The Saigon government was outraged by the agreement, and continued to attack NLF forces in order to squeeze them out of the south. Saigon's forces, however, were without U.S. support and quickly collapsed under the North Vietnamese response. By 1975, Saigon had surrendered to the Communist-led forces and Vietnam became a unified country in 1976 and by 1977, the NLF was disbanded (DeFronzo, 1991).

2.   The Role of Reciprocation

The use of the principle of reciprocation by the NLF was most effective in its attempt to gain influence in the rural villages of South Vietnam. The NLF's primary goal in gaining influence within the country was to affect the attitudes of the peasants in the rural village. They planned to use the peasants as their base for both recruiting and support in the jungles of South Vietnam. Reciprocation was a large part of their strategy to elicit compliance within these populations.

The primary concern for the rural South Vietnamese was land. Both the French and South Vietnamese governments controlled the rights to the land, and the peasants were forced to pay large rents to the government in order to use the land. This problem was exacerbated by the strategic hamlet program of South Vietnam and the United States. The NLF offered exactly what the rural Vietnamese needed: land. It was around this that the NLF based their indoctrination program. By receiving lands from the NLF, the peasant farmers took on an obligation to support the NLF cadre. According to Douglas Pike in his book, *Viet Cong*, the land that farmers received from the NLF became an indoctrination device unto itself. The peasants were invested in the NLF's success because of the benefits provided by the insurgency (Pike, 1966).

Besides the promises of land, other rewards were offered to those who joined the NLF's cause. Paul Berman's excellent study of the motivations of those who joined the NLF, *Revolutionary Organization*, outlines the many rewards presented to those peasants who joined. The NLF offered prestige through social advancement and heroism. Additionally, education in writing and mathematics was given to those living in the

"liberated areas." These schools not only served as a benefit to the people, but also as a platform for NLF indoctrination and training. The peasants perceived the NLF as a group who would bring them prosperity, and in turn, became obligated to support the insurgency (Berman, 1974).

3.   The Role of Commitment and Consistency

The principle of commitment and consistency was perhaps the most heavily utilized of Cialdini's principles by the National Liberation Front. Pike describes the process of inducing a commitment to the NLF through the solicitation of monetary funds. The funds requested by the NLF were small at first. The cadre would encourage a rural family to donate a token amount of money to the insurgency, but this was never taken by force. This small contribution was an effective "foot-in-the-door" technique, and it planted the seeds of commitment in these rural families. Subsequent solicitations for funds were for larger sums, and were often essentially forced on the population (Pike, 1966). This took advantage of two aspects of commitment described by Cialdini. The first is that by not forcing the initial commitment, the NLF fostered internalization by the population. As they did not feel pressured to make the commitment, it became a personal choice. The second aspect is that of gradually increasing demands for commitment. The small initial donation by the peasantry opened the door for the NLF to require large acts of commitment to the cause in the future. Consistency dictated that the peasants were obligated to adhere to their initial commitment.

Berman goes into great detail concerning the role of the principle of commitment and consistency among the rural population of South Vietnam. He includes many first-hand accounts of the tactics used by the NLF in order to exert influence over the population. Berman states, "The [People's Liberation Armed Forces] had an explicit doctrine of organizational compliance: it sought, indeed demanded, 'voluntary conformity' based upon 'ideological commitment' " (Berman, 1974). He presents the idea that individuals complied with the organization because they had internalized its values and had merged their self-identity to that of the PLF (Berman, 1974).

While commitment was the ideal of the insurgency, Berman argues that it was not fully realized by all of those who joined the NLF. The method of recruitment was influential in gaining the commitment of the peasants. Berman demonstrates that those who volunteered, even when initially captured in the fighting, were more likely to internalize the ideals the organization. On the other hand, those who were forced to commit to joining the NLF were more likely to defect at some point (Berman, 1974). This validates Cialdini's assertion that a personal, voluntary commitment is more effective in maintaining consistency than one that is forced by outside pressures.

Commitment and consistency were also utilized in gaining compliance from external sources of support. The early commitments of both North Vietnam and the Chinese facilitated continued support for the NLF. In 1962, the secretary-general of the NLF embarked on an international tour of goodwill with fellow Communist sympathizers. While he was general received well, the Chinese were particularly enthusiastic about the insurrection of the NLF. During this visit, the NLF and the Chinese issued a joint statement condemning the role of the United States and cementing the support of the Chinese in the NLF's struggle. This early commitment provided a vital ally to the NLF's efforts (Pike, 1966).

Commitment was also essential to the insurgency's relationship with the North Vietnamese (DRV). As the NLF was formed by direction of North Vietnam, there was a sense of obligation to the revolutionaries in the South. According to Pike, the DRV was irrevocably and totally committed to the support of the South Vietnamese insurgents. The complete support given to the NLF was instrumental in staking the reputation of the DRV on the success or failure of the NLF (Pike, 1966). The DRV's commitment also came in the form of arms and the lives of its men. Failure to remain consistent to the NLF would have had a devastating effect on both the leadership and the insurgents' morale (Duiker, 1996). An inability to achieve reunification with the South would have completely discredited the leaders of the DRV.

4.   The Role of Social Proof

The NLF took advantage of the family and social dynamics of the rural Vietnamese people in order to utilize the principle of social proof. Vietnamese culture dictated loyalty to both family and community, an external pressure not easily overcome. Additionally, the uncertainty of the conflict made the family structure vital to the Vietnamese culture. This left the rural peoples of South Vietnam very susceptible to manipulation by the NLF.

In Berman's study, he describes the NLF's strategy in utilizing social proof. The insurgency would attempt to recruit a small number of peasants in a particular village. Once this initial recruiting base was established, the rest of the community often followed due to the intense social pressure of the villagers. The importance of collectivity in Vietnamese life made it extraordinarily difficult to resist "going along with the crowd." To defy the wishes of family and community was to risk losing face in the eyes of one's peers (Berman, 1974). Pike reinforces this phenomenon by describing a common method of gaining initial compliance from members of the village. Many of the insurgents, having been recruited elsewhere, would return to their village to gain the support of their family. Family loyalty dictated that the other members of the family would not report their kin to South Vietnamese authorities. The actions of one member reflected upon the reputation of the entire family, and they would then be labeled as traitors. This encouraged at least tacit support from these family members (Pike, 1966).

5.   The Role of Liking

In the early days of the NLF, liking was heavily utilized by the insurgency to influence the perceptions of the rural peasants. The NLF represented idealism, community, and Vietnamese tradition, which appealed to the best impulses of the peasants. The NLF recruiting effort was most effective when the individual being indoctrinated liked the members of the NLF. Berman relates one man's experience with the Viet Cong who describes fair and kind treatment by the cadre. This man was captured South Vietnamese militia member, but their civil treatment eventually caused him to join the other side (Berman, 1974).

The NLF cadres worked very hard at maintaining the image of virtuousness to the peasants of South Vietnam. They were instructed to treat villagers as "one of the family" and to include them in their circle of trust. This was especially true of those captured in skirmishes with the South Vietnamese forces. They would reeducate these prisoners, and the civil manner of treatment they exhibited made those prisoners more susceptible to NLF indoctrination (Berman, 1974).

Not only was liking utilized to recruit, this same adherence to the liking principle was carried over into the ranks of the NLF. The NLF leadership preached harmony to its members. They referred to the brotherhood experience in the NLF as "mutual love." This included recovering the dead from the battlefield and fair treatment from the top of the organization down (Berman, 1974). The members of the NLF genuinely liked their comrades and the leadership of the organization, which was effective in maintaining loyalty.

The Viet Cong also used the principle in its dealings with external governments and organizations. In the domain of diplomacy, the representatives of the NLF always maintained the appearance of a likable organization. The NLF maintained that it was a moderate organization that would maintain a neutral foreign policy to achieve reunification with North Vietnam. They also maintained that prisoners of war, both American and Vietnamese, were always treated humanely and fairly. The organization insisted that it was only representing the interests of a population that had been ill-treated and repressed by the government of South Vietnam (Pike, 1966). They did everything in their power to get potential allies of the insurgency to like them.

6.   The Role of Authority

The National Liberation Front also relied on authority to influence both the population and external governments. According to Pike, the NLF brought order and authority to the generally anarchic rural villages. It gave the people direction and simple orders that they could follow. On the other hand, the insurgency realized the benefit of putting local community leaders in charge of the "liberated" areas, as long as these men

were indoctrinated with NLF beliefs. These men were already established authority figures, which maintained continuity when the NLF began to take charge (Pike, 1966).

The organizational structure of the NLF was designed to project as much authority as it could to both the population and the international community. Its structure suggested legality and legitimate government. In many cases, the arrival of the NLF in a particular area served to fill a power vacuum in the region. According to Berman, "This lack of coherent government facilitated the Front's access to the village and to the individual…" (Berman, 1974, p. 51). The arrival of authority in an area devoid of any governmental structure was extremely powerful in gaining compliance. An aspect of the NLF's authority was its insistence on complete obedience. Cialdini demonstrates that the power of the principle can cause individuals to perform act that they would not have normally done. The same was true in South Vietnam. In the NLF, obedience meant accepting any assignment, even ones involving terrorism, and its followers willingly complied (Berman, 1974).

Authority of the NLF was essential to its legitimacy outside of Vietnam. It had to maintain careful control of its outward relationship with the government of North Vietnam to appear legitimate. Within the North, the government's control of the insurgency improved its legitimacy, since it was backed by the official North Vietnamese government (Duiker, 1996). Externally, however, it needed to appear autonomous in order to conduct effective relationship with the international community. Thus, the NLF leadership maintained the image that it was essentially independent from the DRV. If the insurgency was only viewed as a puppet of the DRV, it would not be taken seriously in diplomatic negotiations. Given its acceptance by the Chinese government, they were at least partially successful in projecting diplomatic authority (Pike, 1966).

7.   The Role of Scarcity

Scarcity, though sparingly used, was a small factor in the NLF's influence over the South Vietnamese and its own members. The use of this principle came primarily in the form of competition among members of its organization. Occasionally, the leadership would hold contests between different groups within the NLF with the winners receiving

prestige and rewards. As prestige was highly prized by the culture of South Vietnam, a chance to triumph over their peers gave each group great incentive to succeed. The scarcity of both rewards and prestige within the organization was a motivating factor to win the contests. Pike states that these challenges were highly contested, and that the required deeds were highly beneficial to the cause of the insurgency. Through the scarcity principle, the NLF was able to inspire more fervor and quality in the actions of its members (Pike, 1966).

8.   Use of the Principles of Influence in Counterinsurgency Efforts

The sources of influence of the counterinsurgency efforts in South Vietnam were generally based in the authority of the governments of South Vietnam and the United States. These forces also attempted to utilize the principle of social proof in the strategic hamlet program, but this was generally ineffective in gaining a large base of support for the counterinsurgency. The primary basis of influence was the authority of the South Vietnamese government, with the support of the government of the United States. Unfortunately, the role of the U.S. in the country also served as a prime motivator for insurgent forces. DeFronzo states that the primary motivation for the revolution in Vietnam was the goal of casting off perceived foreign subjugation. Additionally, the authority of the South Vietnamese government was undermined by its support by the U.S. government. Its legitimacy was always questionable due to its foreign support. This idea was validated by its inability to defend against the NLF's onslaught following the departure of the United States (DeFronzo, 1991, p. 147).

Counterinsurgency forces also attempted to use social proof in the strategic hamlet program. This program was designed to organize communities together in order to undermine the influence of the Viet Cong. By relying on the communal nature of the South Vietnamese peasants, South Vietnam and the U.S. attempted to use social proof to keep these communities together and prevent NLF infiltration. This technique backfired because the peasants were unhappy with their removal from ancestral lands. In fact, the program was a major factor in increasing the support for the NLF (DeFronzo, 1991, p. 136).

Despite the efforts of the United States and South Vietnam to influence the local population, the counterinsurgency forces generally relied on the strength of the U.S. military in combating the NLF. The United States and the government of South Vietnam held to the idea that superior force would eventually lead to victory over the insurgency, but this was not the case. The lack of support by the people was a major factor in the eventual Communist takeover in Vietnam.

G.   PROVISIONAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY

1.   Background

The Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA)—sometimes referred to as the Provos—was an insurgent group dedicated to the end of British rule in Northern Ireland and uniting Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. It conducted an armed campaign against the British police and military forces beginning in 1969. While the IRA still exists as a political entity, it officially ended its armed campaign in 2005 and is no longer considered a threat to peace in Northern Ireland.

The origins of the PIRA can be traced back to the 1916 Easter Uprising in Dublin and the establishment of the Republic of Ireland in 1921. At the time, the IRA was a Marxist organization and desired a workers' state to replace British rule. Although the organization was a major factor in the 1920s and 1930s, it began to lose influence in the middle of the century. By the time of the 1968 Civil Rights Movement, the IRA was disorganized and largely unable to protect the Catholic communities of Northern Ireland (English, 2003, pp. 81-120).

In 1969, in response to an increase in violence and unrest, the British began to increase its military presence in the country. The Official IRA was unable to protect the Catholic communities in Northern Ireland from the violence of the Protestant Unionists, which led to support for the fundamental split that resulted in the IRA. The organization split into two separate entities: the Marxist Official IRA and the traditionalist Provisional IRA. This support for the traditionalists led to the views of the PIRA becoming the dominant doctrine within the IRA as a whole (English, 2003, pp. 134-147).

The Provos also differed from the Official IRA in their view of violence. The PIRA was in favor of rearming and renewing armed conflict with the ruling British government. The British response to the increased violence was imprisonment without trial, and most of those incarcerated were later released for lack of cause. The imprisoning of innocents and the seemingly indiscriminate arrests resulted in further enmity towards the British government (English, 2003, pp. 139-140).

In 1972, the conflict dramatically escalated with the Bloody Sunday massacre and the subsequent response by the IRA. Bloody Sunday became a rallying cry for the nationalists in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. In light of the increasing violence, the British continued the policy of imprisonment. These prisoners responded by conducting hunger strikes which gained them international notoriety and sympathy (English, 2003, p. 193).

In 1975, the police force was given overall responsibility for operations against the IRA, but they still relied on the military for assistance. As a result, the British began to rely more heavily on surveillance and a network of informants. This informant network resulted in a multitude of arrests and a general sense of mistrust within the PIRA. The mistrust within the network led to the execution of many IRA members on suspicion of informing for the British (English, 2003).

During the 1980s, both sides conducted a campaign of strike-counterstrike. The British would conduct operations of "lethal ambush" with a policy of shoot-to-kill, which led to IRA attacks on isolated stations of the police force. The purpose of the IRA campaign in this period was to deter inward investment, oppose political stability, and broaden both internal and international support through propaganda (Moloney, 2002). Further attempts to escalate the conflict proved to be largely unsuccessful.

Although the British could not defeat the IRA militarily, it was generally successful in containing the problem, and IRA leadership began to consider abandoning its armed campaign in favor of political means. The IRA, however, continued the bombing campaign up to the mid-1990s, which proved financially burdensome to the British government. The high cost of maintaining security in Northern Ireland was

pivotal to negotiations that resulted in a 1994 cease-fire. The cease-fire was suspended for a brief period in 1996, but quickly resumed the following year. This proved to be the effective end to IRA military operations (English, 2003).

While the IRA never achieved their goal of a united Ireland, its campaign resulted in a rise in the influence of the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein. The Sinn Fein party continues to hold significant numbers in the Northern Ireland Assembly, and it is the second largest political party in Northern Ireland. The IRA was able to gain significant influence in the politics of the area, but its ultimate goal of a united Ireland remains unfulfilled.

2.   The Role of Reciprocation

The principle of reciprocation was utilized by the Provisional IRA to gain influence within the Catholic population of Northern Ireland. While important to the organization in producing compliance, the principle was used primarily within the IRA's own community of Catholics. In this case, the defense of the community was the primary benefit provided by the IRA.

According to Richard English in his book, *Armed Struggle*, the Provisionals had a self-image of being the "necessary defenders"—an ethos that was firmly embedded in their psyche. The PIRA was created from an immediate need for Catholic self-protection, and it was this benefit that the organization provided to the population of Catholics. English continues by stating that early enlistees to the cause joined at least partly because they were under attack by those in power (English, 2003).

As part of the defense mission taken up by the IRA, the organization also used reciprocation to obtain loyalty from Catholic communities by providing arms. In Ed Moloney's study, *A Secret History of the IRA*, he explains that Catholic defense communities in Northern Ireland were eager to obtain weapons to fight the British and Loyalists in their communities. In the early days of the IRA split, many Catholics were unsure of which side—the PIRA or OIRA—to give their allegiance. These groups were, however, in desperate need of arms with which to defend their communities, and the

PIRA was willing to provide the necessary items (Moloney, 2002). By providing essential weapons to the Catholic communities, the Provos utilized reciprocation to get compliance and allegiance.

3.   The Role of Commitment and Consistency

The principle of commitment and consistency was evident from the initial formation of the Provisional IRA. Robert White, in his book, *Provisional Irish Republicans*, describes the commitment taken by the Provisional Army Council. The commitment came in the form of a public declaration proclaiming allegiance to the cause and the expulsion of the British from Ireland. By making the declaration written and public, the Council's commitment to the cause was strengthed (White, 1993).

The initial construction of the Provisional IRA's support base relied on commitment and consistency to attract members. According to English, the PIRA's nucleus was formed around those with lengthy prior involvement with the IRA in its previous iteration (English, 2003). These stalwarts of the IRA's cause were deeply committed to expelling the British from the North, and joining the PIRA demonstrated the consistency to that commitment. These core members were disillusioned by the IRA's previous ineffectiveness, and the PIRA provided a means to be consistent to their commitment.

Another example of the principle of commitment at work within the membership of the Provisional IRA was the practice of hunger striking. This practice was carried out by IRA members detained by the British in the late 1970s and early 1980s. While the purpose of the strikes was to assert the detainees' status as political prisoners (rather than criminals), it also exhibited their commitment to the IRA. Hunger strikes were an ultimate physical demonstration of commitment, which demonstrates Cialdini's assertion that actions strengthen the principle. Additionally, the group of prisoners also publicly asserted the commitment to the hunger strikes, even if it resulted in their deaths. This public statement put the prisoners' commitment on record, which further augmented the power of the principle. Finally, each prisoner was responsible for his own condition during the hunger strikes, which shows that the commitment was perceived to be his

choice—another point made by Cialdini concerning the principle (White, 1993). Although the strikes were not practiced by many, they served as a model of commitment to the IRA's goal of undermining the British.

4.   The Role of Social Proof

Social proof was heavily utilized by the IRA in gaining influence among the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. The uncertainty of the situation and the similarity between the IRA members and the Catholic population as a whole both served to enhance the power of the principle. In this particular conflict, uncertainty was rule, not the exception. The violence perpetrated by both sides of the conflict caused a great deal of uncertainty in the everyday lives of those in Northern Ireland. This uncertainty basically forced every citizen to choose a side, and similarity was a deciding factor in that choice.

From the beginning of the split, similarity was extremely important in enlisting members to the PIRA's cause. Membership was often based entirely on the surrounding people in each community. If those in a particular neighborhood tended to side with the IRA, then the rest followed. When daily life was always uncertain, the people tended to cling to choices made by those around them. Socioeconomic class was also a common similarity shared by the members of the IRA. In describing the early period of the insurgency, White provides convincing evidence of the role of social proof. He shows that from 1969 to 1972, forty-five Belfast Provisionals were killed during IRA operations. All of those killed were in the working class; none had a university education; and the average age was twenty-one (White, 1993). This demonstrates striking similarity between the members of the IRA, and the effect that had on social proof. Later in his book, White summarizes the power of this principle:

> …[for those] who became Republicans, involvement in political violence resulted in a conscious decision in which he embraced what he believed to be the most effective approach for bringing about political change. Importantly, his own political awareness developed in concert with the developing political awareness of other people in his social circle. (1993)

5.   The Role of Liking

While similarity was clearly evident in increasing the effectiveness of social proof within the Catholic communities in Northern Ireland, it was also an important factor in the IRA's gaining influence through the principle of liking. Liking was certainly evident with the North's Catholic communities, but the principle was particularly powerful in achieving influence outside of the North. This principle was the primary means by which the Provisionals got support outside of the immediate area of the conflict.

Similarity had a particularly powerful effect on the support of those in the South (the Republic of Ireland). The similarity arose from a feeling of national identity present in Irish of the South, an identity that links the people of the North and the South. The feeling of kinship between the two populations sparked demonstrations and violence in the South in response to the actions of the British (White, 1993). The Southern Irish had a greater similarity to the Northern Republicans, as opposed to the British, which produced a wave of support from the people. This support, however, waned as the conflict continued into the late 1980s. Despite the sense of identity experienced between the two populations, the increasingly terroristic nature of the IRA attacks soured the Southern Irish against the Provisionals in the North. With the added fear of the conflict spilling over into the South, the people increasingly distanced themselves from the Northern Republicans (Bell, 1997). Thus, support from the Republic decreased as dislike for the means used by the IRA increased.

A similar pattern was evident in support from groups from the United States. In the early days of the Provisional IRA, fundraising in the United States provided a great deal of financial support for the IRA's campaign. Just as in the Republic of Ireland, Irish Americans (especially in New England) sympathized with the cause of the Provisionals due to the same sense of identity. The Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID) was established in New York to raise funds for the campaign. The committee had great success among the working-class Irish Americans. This support also came in the form of and arms smuggling route between the United States and Northern Ireland (English, 2003). This support, however, also waned as the conflict continued, and support groups

increasingly dedicated their funds towards the peace process (Bell, 1997). As in the Republic of Ireland, support from the United States dwindled as the principle of liking became less apparent.

According to White, contact and association were also heavily utilized by the Provos to drum up support in the Republic of Ireland. White states that nationalism alone could not incite the Southern Irish, or there would have been a much larger incidence of active support for the IRA in the South. He argues that the support they did receive was as much a result of contact as it was a result of intense nationalism. He states that the less restrictive environment in the South allowed the IRA to organize responses among the sympathetic nationalists. This contact allowed for the development of social ties, and made the conflict much more personal for the Southern Republicans (White, 1993).

The IRA also used association to improve their likability to the Southern Irish, as well as others in Northern Ireland. The IRA's chief association was with Catholicism. Their association with the religion (and the ideals that came with it) increased their likability in the overwhelming Catholic Republic. As a nationalist republican movement, the IRA was associated with a return to the Irish traditions, including the use of the Irish Gaelic language. The "Irishness" that the IRA upheld was vastly appealing to the Catholic communities in both the North and the South. By associating the organization with those traditions, the insurgency appeared to stand for desirable ideals, despite the means it used to achieve those goals (English, 2003).

6.   Other Uses of the Principles of Influence by the IRA

The Provisional IRA also used authority in gaining influence within the Catholic communities of Northern Ireland. The use of the scarcity principle was evident in the research conducted in this study. The primary sources of authority for the PIRA were Catholicism and family. Not only did Catholicism play a role in the organization's likability, but it also added a sense of authority to the group. The IRA's campaign was partially a conflict between two religious groups, the Protestants and the Catholics, and

support for the IRA implied support for Catholicism. This authority, however, was not officially sanctioned, so its effectiveness in gaining compliance was far less than the social aspects of Catholicism (English, 2003).

Authority also derived from the family dynamic of the Catholic communities. Many IRA members were from Republican families. These families indoctrinated their children with a hatred for the British and the ideals of the Republican cause. The other lesson passed down from parents to children was that violence could be effective in removing the British from the country, as related in stories of the rebellion of 1916. Through their parents, children were raised to support the expulsion of the British from Northern Ireland, and many of these children joined the Provisionals. The authority of the Republican parents was instrumental in influencing the younger generation to support the IRA (White, 1993).

7.   Use of the Principles of Influence in Counterinsurgency Efforts

With the reintroduction of violence into the politics of Northern Ireland, the initial response of the British forces was that of repression and violence. Repression of the Catholic communities greatly undermined any efforts to infiltrate and gain influence in those communities. British forces never were fully successful in influencing these communities. Rather, it was the indiscriminate nature of the PIRA attacks that ultimately led to its downfall.

The British use of reciprocation also led to the cessation of violence by the PIRA. Realizing that they could never stamp out the insurgency with violence and repression alone, the British eventually conceded many political rights and positions to Irish Republicans, which helped aid an end to the violence. It was a realization among many Irish Catholics that cooperation with the British would better serve their cause that continued support of IRA violence.

The British also demonstrated the use of commitment to bring about an end to violence. The British government made clear that they were committed to keeping Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom, unless the entire population (both Catholic and Protestant) wished otherwise. Aware of the commitment of the British

government and the Protestant communities in Northern Ireland, the leaders of the PIRA began to retreat from the earlier assertion that violence was the only way to win (English, 2003, pp. 362-366). The British commitment and the opposition of the Catholic communities to further violence eventually led to the disarming of the IRA.

H.   SUMMARY

In this chapter, I applied Robert Cialdini's six principles of influence to six different case studies of historical insurgencies. These insurgencies had varying degrees of success, both politically and militarily.   These six principles—reciprocation, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking, authority, and scarcity—were each used to varying degrees by the insurgent groups. In some cases, a principle was recognized and actively exploited by the insurgents. In others, a principle would have an enormous impact without active utilization by the insurgency itself. In each case several or all of Cialdini's principles played an important role in the spread of the insurgency's influence to its targets of compliance. The next chapter will examine these findings in more detail.

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IV. CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

Chapter III demonstrated the utilization of Cialdini's six principles of influence by six different historical insurgencies. Each insurgent group tailored its manipulation of targets of compliance according to its desired goals and unique political climate. The success of the tactics varied, but proper application of the principles often resulted in significant gains in the insurgency's influence, internally and externally. The insurgencies' understanding of the local population also promoted proper use of the principles, and presented a formidable barrier to counterinsurgency efforts.

A. GENERAL USE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF INFLUENCE

What determines the actions taken by insurgent leaders to influence internal and external audiences? The answer is: it depends. Unique cultural and political climates result in specific methods employed for each case. On the other hand, it is apparent that some principles were extensively used by the insurgencies—and some sparingly—in every case. Additionally, the success or failure of an insurgency is not necessarily contingent upon the use of particular principles. It seems, however, that proper understanding and application of the principles of influence—along with a grasp of the desires and motivations of the target audience—are important to success.

Table 1 summarizes the use of the principles of influence by the insurgencies. The results of the study showed that there were varying degrees of the use of Cialdini's principles in the six cases. In a particular case, a principle was either not present, used in a limited capacity, or extensively used in the insurgent campaign. Limited use of a principle implies that the insurgency did not rely on the principle to gain influence, but that it was useful in smaller ways. Extensive use of a principle implies that the insurgency heavily utilized the principle in order to gain influence. The relative success of the use of a principle is also reflected in this table. Success implies that the insurgency was able to gain significant influence through the use of a principle. Limited success implies that influence was gained, but not to the desired extent.

Insurgency	Reciprocation	Commitment and Consistency	Social Proof	Liking	Authority	Scarcity	Type of Insurgency	Outcome
Mau Mau	No significant evidence of use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; limited but successful external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; limited but successful external use	No active use but a factor in internal influence; no significant external use	Anticolonial	Military loss; Political win
M-26-7	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used both internally and externally	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	No significant evidence of use	Marxist	Military and political win
EOKA	No significant evidence of use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful internal use; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; limited but successful external use	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Anticolonial	Military stalemate; Partial political win
Bolsheviks	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful use both internally and externally	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Marxist / Separatist	Military and political win
NLF	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used both internally and externally	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used both internally and externally	Extensively and successfully used internally; extensive external use with limited success	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	Marxist / Anticolonial	Military and political win
PIRA	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; no significant external use	Extensively and successfully used internally; extensive external use with limited success	Limited but successful use internally; no significant external use	No significant evidence of use	Anticolonial / Quasi-religious	Military loss; limited political gains

Table 1.   Insurgents' Use of Cialdini's Principles of Influence

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The frequency of use of each of Cialdini's six principles varies from case to case. The decision to use a particular principle is influenced by many factors. These factors include cultural tendencies, the economic situation of the population, a leader's personal methods, the goals of the insurgency, and many more. Table 1 shows that two of the principles, reciprocation and scarcity, were not used by insurgencies as often as the other four principles. On the other hand, commitment and consistency, social proof, liking, and authority were at present in either an extensive or limited capacity in all six cases.

Reciprocation is one of Cialdini's principles that did not appear in all six cases. The NLF and the PIRA both used reciprocation extensively and with some success. The NLF and the PIRA based much of their influence campaign on inducing a sense of obligation on the local populations. Both organizations could provide something desired by the people. M-26-7 also utilized reciprocation, but to a more limited extent. They generally used the principle in mutually beneficial agreements with local populations. The Bolsheviks were even more limited in their use of reciprocation. The use of the principle was mostly limited to promises, rather than immediate tangible benefits. These promises, however, did prove to be quite effective on the working class of Russia. This study did not find any significant evidence of the use of reciprocation by EOKA or Mau Mau. It can be argued that the hope of a desired political outcome represented by these groups was a factor in inducing an obligation, but the insurgencies did not actively employ the principle.

Commitment and consistency was present in either an extensive or limited capacity in all six cases. Although some groups used the principle more than others, it seems that some form of commitment is necessary for conducting an insurgent campaign. The Mau Mau, in particular, extensively used the principle to its full effect. The organization took advantage of the cultural proclivity to the act of taking oaths. EOKA also made use of specific verbal oaths to the cause of the insurgency, and to good effect. The NLF relied on the use of the principle to recruit and keep its members. Berman's study documents the extent of the principle's use, and the enormous success gained from its proper use. The PIRA often took commitment and consistency to an extreme level. Consistency was influential in establishing the organization's power base, but it was the

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consistency exhibited in the hunger strikes that demonstrate the power of this principle in this particular case. The Bolsheviks and M-26-7 made limited use of the principle, and generally only within their small circles of leadership. While public statements exhibiting commitment to their causes were frequent in both cases, the specific utilization of the principle was minimal.

As with commitment and consistency, social proof was also present in either an extensive or limited capacity in all six cases. Use of social proof was generally more heavily relied upon in situations where cultures exhibited a strong sense of community. This was either because of necessity due to repression, a strong religious aspect, or an historic cultural tendency. EOKA, Mau Mau, and the IRA represented repressed populations with a strong sense of religion within the community. These factors resulted in heavy use of the social proof principle. The NLF operated in generally isolated villages where recent hardship and historical reliance on community created an ideal situation for exploitation using the principle. M-26-7 and the Bolsheviks were rather limited in their use of social proof. While uncertainty played a role in strengthening this principle, the divisive nature of the conflicts inhibited its use. Castro was able to use the principle in the rural areas in which he operated, but Lenin was limited by the urban nature of his operating area.

Liking was also present in either an extensive or limited capacity in all six insurgencies. Five out of the six cases showed an extensive use of the liking principle, while only one made limited use of the principle. All six insurgencies devoted effort to contact, similarity, and association in order to get other groups to like them. For some insurgencies, such as EOKA, it took minimal effort to promote liking with both the Greek Cypriots and the people of Greece. These groups were already inclined to like the insurgent organizations due to cultural similarity and association with ideals. This was also the case with the IRA, but they also utilized contact to strengthen the effectiveness of the principle. It was more difficult for the Mau Mau, due to their strange and often brutal customs, but liking was easier to employ within the Kikuyu community. The Bolsheviks mainly used association to influence the Russia people. Due a severely divided culture (and multiple competing factions) Lenin was limited to the party's association with

socialism and representation of the proletariat in using the liking principle. The NLF and M-26-7 both used the principle extensively, internally and externally. As these populations were not necessarily culturally inclined to like the organizations, active methods of liking were necessary to gain influence. Both of these insurgencies were extremely successful in utilizing the principle.

Authority was also used by all six insurgencies in either an extensive or limited capacity. The sources of authority in each of the cases fall into several categories. In four of the six cases, a strong, central authority figure was present, although the level of control practiced by the authority figure varied. Three of the four groups relied on the authority figure for direction and prestige. M-26-7, the Bolshevik Party, and EOKA were dependent upon the authority of their leadership. While Kenyatta had little influence on the everyday operations of the Mau Mau, the cult of his authority was extremely influential in gaining influence. His person was not necessary for the existence of the Mau Mau, but his demigod status was. The IRA and the NLF, however, were more limited in their use of authority. The most effective use of the principle by these groups was on a more local level where personal contact was present. The NLF did attempt to use authority outside of the local level, but with limited success.

Religious authority was played an important role in three of the six cases, and it was a limited factor in two others. EOKA, the IRA, and the Mau Mau used the population's identification with religious life to at least give the appearance of authority. EOKA was the only case where a strong central leader was also a legitimate religious authority, which the insurgency used to great effect, both at home and abroad. The IRA was not officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church, but the authority of the church was utilized in more local settings. The Mau Mau completely fabricated religious authority by creating a new one. By elevating Kenyatta to a demigod, and invoking the spiritual superstition of the Kikuyu, the Mau Mau used religious authority to great effect. The White Armies in Russia also used religious authority to gain support of the peasant population, but was limited in its success. Additionally, religious authority played a very small role in the influence of the NLF. This was due to the oppression of the Buddhists by the Diem regime which favored Christianity.

Active use of the scarcity principle was seldom evident in any of the six cases in this study. The most common iteration of the principle was Cialdini's idea of newly experienced scarcity. The insurgencies, however, were not necessarily required to act in order for scarcity to be a factor. Any opportunity to utilize scarcity was generally brought about by the nation-state against which the insurgency was fighting. Due to their inability to understand cultures or desire for power, leaders of the nation-states inadvertently invoked the principle.

B.   THE EFFECT OF COMBINATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES

This study has demonstrated the manner in which Cialdini's principles of influence are used individually, but combinations were also exhibited in this study. One combination that was particularly powerful in gaining influence was the use of both authority and liking. Whether through physical attractiveness, association, or similarity the leaders of these insurgencies utilized the principle of liking to augment their authority. Kenyatta was described as a very attractive man, an attribute which increased his likability. As Kenyatta was well-liked, the Kikuyu were more inclined to accept him as an authority figure, and as a religious icon. Fidel Castro was an eloquent and talented speaker, who championed the rights of the common worker and peasants during his fight with the Batista regime. These attributes contributed to his authority both in Cuba and outside of the country. While Lenin was an extremely complicated man, his image as a representative of the working class improved his likability both in and out of his circle of socialists. Lenin was never easily liked as a man, but his total internalization of the socialist cause afforded him a strong sense of respect in his authority. The two leaders of EOKA, Grivas and Makarios, were also well-liked by the Greek Cypriots. Grivas was intensely loyal to his people, and Makarios was a charismatic religious leader. Both of these aspects were utilized in augmenting each man's authority.

Another powerful combination of the principles of influence is that of liking and social proof. Both of these principles are strengthened by similarity, so it is natural for the two to be utilized in tandem. The IRA used this combination particularly well in the Catholic communities of Northern Ireland. The members of the IRA were well-liked in

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these communities because of their similarity, and they were often family members or good friends. While the violent actions of the IRA members were not always supported, their likability made them more likely to be followed in the uncertain atmosphere of Northern Ireland.

The other insurgency who used this combination extensively was the NLF. Their tactic of sending NLF members back to their own villages in order to recruit friends and family took advantage of both of the principles. As members of the community, they were already well-liked by the villagers. The uncertainty of the conflict allowed the NLF take advantage of social proof by sending these well liked community members to the villages to provide direction. As one family began to support the cause, the rest of the village followed.

While these two combinations seem to be the most heavily utilized, other combinations were also present in the cases in this study. The Mau Mau used a mixture of commitment and religious authority in order to recruit the Kikuyu to its organization. The oathing ceremonies conducted by the insurgency used the cultural inclination towards commitment along with their twisting of traditional religious practices to create an extremely powerful commitment. The NLF also used this combination in their indoctrination practices. As Berman states in his study, "Obedience implied, in the Front's ideal, absolute conformity to a strict code of proper conduct and total submission to authority; without these ingredients commitment could not be complete" (Berman, 1974).

Another combination occasionally utilized by the insurgencies was that of scarcity and reciprocation. Although the two principles were not as heavily utilized as the other four, the combination of the two proved to be effective, particularly with the NLF and the Bolsheviks. The working and peasant classes of Russia suffered from newly experienced scarcity due to Russia's involvement in World War I. In rural Russia, land was a scarce commodity due to control by the government for purposes of war. The Bolsheviks' use of reciprocation in offering lands to the peasantry was instrumental to their success. The

NLF realized that scarcity of land could amplify the effectiveness of reciprocity in the villages of South Vietnam. They were able to gain influence in the country by utilizing this combination.

C.   THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLES

In this study, no particular principle of influence appears to be the most important to an insurgency's achieving influence, or to the insurgency's overall success. There are however, a few relationships between success and the use of particular principles. Generally, the utilization of scarcity and reciprocation was not universal across all six cases. Conversely, the other four principles were at least present in an extensive or limited capacity in all six cases. This demonstrates the relative importance assigned by the leadership of these insurgencies. On the other hand, scarcity and reciprocation were often taken for granted by the organizations without active employment of either of these principles. Thus, these two principles may not have been deliberately ignored; they may have been inherent the insurgency-population relationship.

Three of the six insurgencies, M-26-7, the Bolshevik Party, and the NLF, were completely successful, both militarily and politically. All three of these organizations were able to overthrow the existing government and seize power for themselves. Interestingly, the NLF was the only one of these three that made full use of all six principles of influence. Authority and liking, on the other hand, were extensively used by all three of these insurgencies, while the other four principles were used in a more limited capacity, with the exception of the NLF. The NLF was also different in that it did not have a strong central authority figure, such as Fidel Castro or Vladimir Lenin. Rather, it relied on the authority of its organizational structure to gain internal influence. While the three most successful insurgencies extensively used authority, the least successful one, the IRA, was the most limited in the use of authority. While a causal relationship between these two principles and success cannot be established, there seems to be some relationship between the two.

A common theme among all six cases is the importance of the principle of commitment and consistency. Verbal oaths, written statements, acts of commitment, or a

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combination thereof were present in some capacity in establishing influence in all six cases. Additionally, commitments in the six cases all involved public acts of some kind. Cialdini stressed that public acts were important to internalizing a commitment and making it personal. This phenomenon seems to be especially important with the leadership of the organization itself. Both M-26-7 and the Bolshevik Party primarily employed commitment within its central leadership; and their use of the principle outside of the organization was fairly limited. This may indicate that commitment is essential in maintaining influence over an insurgent organization.

Despite these relationships, this study did not find any causal relationship between the individual principles and the ultimate success of the insurgency. It seems, rather, that it is the correct cultural understanding of the targets of compliance that dictate both the use of a particular principle and the relative success of that use. The results do indicate some relative importance of each particular influence principle.

D.   EFFECTS OF THE PRINCIPLES AT VARYING LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

The subjects of each case study used the principles of influence to varying degrees on different levels. The principles were employed to a much higher degree and with much greater success on the local population and its own members. While the local population and the members of the insurgencies could be considered separate entities, the "with us or against us" nature of insurgent organizations inclined the leadership to treat them as one in the same. These insurgents usually operated among the populations which they claimed to represent, and every member of the target population was a potential member of the insurgency, either in an active or supporting role.

All six principles were employed in seeking compliance from both the local population and its own members, but not in each individual case. Two principles, scarcity and reciprocation, were evident only on internal audiences with no evidence of use on external audiences. This may be due to the fact that insurgencies generally had nothing to offer external audiences, and insurgencies were usually in a position of requestor in dealing with external audiences.

Social proof and commitment and consistency were almost exclusively used to gain influence with internal audiences. Only one instance of each of the two principles was observed in situations involving external audiences. These instances were the Bolshevik's use of social proof in external fundraising and the NLF's use of commitment and consistency in soliciting international support. Additionally, the relative success of these two instances was limited at best, and did not significantly contribute to gaining influence.

Liking and authority were used to a large degree both internally and externally. These two principles were much more successful internally than externally, but they were also the most effective of the six principles in eliciting compliance from external audiences. This may be due to the fact that authority lent a sense of legitimacy to an insurgency in the eyes of external audiences. Additionally, the aspect of association in inducing likability may have been important to gaining external support. An external entity's sympathy towards the ultimate goals of the insurgent organization was essential to the likability of the insurgency.

E.   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY EFFORTS

This study has demonstrated the utilization of Cialdini's principles of influence in six different insurgencies. How can these observations be used by militaries and governments in counterinsurgency campaigns? The analysis of these cases has shown that the support of the local population is essential to the success of an insurgency. Furthermore cultural understanding of the target audiences is vital to the proper use of the influence principles and the resulting influence gained. This knowledge can be employed by counterinsurgency forces as well. The proper understanding of a target audience's culture and motivations can greatly contribute to determining which influence principles will be most effective in eliciting compliance. Counterinsurgency efforts in these six cases often failed due to the lack of understanding, and the use of cultural anthropologists and local liaisons may be the first step in improving this understanding. These methods are currently utilized by Coalition Forces in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and have been met with some success.

Another method that may have an impact on undermining the influence of an insurgency is to use the principles against them. The British use of pseudo gangs in combating the Mau Mau proved to be quite successful. They were able to exploit the Kikuyu reliance on commitment to infiltrate and eliminate many guerrilla enclaves. By outwardly making a commitment to the insurgency, the Mau Mau guerrillas fully accepted the infiltrators, which resulted in their undoing. Undermining or diminishing the effect of the principles used by the insurgencies may be effective in gaining influence for counterinsurgency forces.

Reciprocation also seems to be effective in a counterinsurgency campaign. The British utilized reciprocation in Northern Ireland by providing concessions to the Catholic communities. These concessions for more prominent roles in government served to address the concerns of the population, and the British were able to undermine the support of the violence perpetrated by the IRA.

One additional use of the principles that could prove effective in gaining influence is to employ the principle of liking. Liking was heavily utilized by insurgent organizations to get compliance from external organizations, and this phenomenon could be effective for counterinsurgency forces in influencing local populations. All six insurgencies gained strength from improper treatment by the ruling governments and militaries. This often resulted in increased support for insurgencies. The lesson to be learned from this observation is that ill treatment of the population will result in a surge of support for the opposing forces. Counterinsurgency campaigns must make every effort to conduct fair and civil relations with the local populations. This could have an enormous effect on both support for the counterinsurgency and the insurgency's lack thereof.

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V. CONCLUSION

This thesis has described the factors that determine the types of actions taken by insurgent leaders in influencing internal and external audiences using Cialdini's six principles of influence. It has described Cialdini's framework and explained the methods used to enhance the effectiveness of the principles. This thesis has also defined insurgency and applied the principles of influence to six case studies of insurgency. It analyzed the use of these principles and explained the relative importance of each one. The resulting study has provided insight into the methods of influence, the levels at which these methods are utilized, and possible techniques to counter insurgent organizations' use of the principles.

Prior to this work, a study of the influence of insurgencies had not been conducted using Cialdini's framework. This framework highlights basic human psychological influences in the area of compliance, which may be useful to the study of insurgent organizations. With military research currently focused on the understanding of the inner workings of these organizations, this thesis may be beneficial to this understanding. Further research is required in order to fully explore the multitude of methods used by insurgencies to gain influence. A quantitative study of every recent historically significant insurgency could provide a more complete picture of the methods used in Cialdini's framework. Additionally, a focused study of one particular insurgency may provide insights beyond the scope of this study. While this thesis has not provided *the* ultimate solution to combating insurgent organizations, it has offered some insight into the influence strategies of insurgents on a basic level.

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